



Frederick Elwin Watson.

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HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

E V E S H A M.

[PRICE ONE GUINEA.]

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VIEW OF EVESHAM.

To THOMAS THOMPSON Esq. - This Plate is humbly dedicated by his most humble servant
John Agg.

THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
ABBAY AND BOROUGH
OF
Evesham:

COMPILED CHIEFLY FROM MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

By WILLIAM TINDAL, M. A.
LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY-COLLEGE, OXON.

Lo! desolate the seat of ancient piety.—
The rugged walls, th' unjointed stones confess
The iron tooth of Time; the half-sunk arch
The weight of whelming years.— On Avon's brink,
Reflected from the pure sky-tintur'd wave,
A sacred, solitary scene it forms.

UNPUBLISHED POEM.

E V E S H A M:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOHN AGG;
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1794.

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IT was in the end of autumn, 1792, that the author first heard of a design to publish a sketch of the History and Antiquities of the Abbey and Borough of *Evesham*. The idea of a tolerable description of the past and present state of an Abbey once so magnificent, and in a situation so picturesque and beautiful, most pleasingly struck his imagination; and, resolving to promote the undertaking by every means in his power, he, soon after, engaged to write a preface to it. By little and little, this intended preface induced a farther engagement to take upon himself the *entire* conduct of the work;—at first, with few materials, and little prospect of success. An accession to these materials soon however flowed in so plentifully from the British Museum and other sources, as to have swelled the book to its present dimensions:—far beyond what was originally intended, or what the price affixed to the subscription will, in prudence, justify.

It may be needless to inform the *experienced* reader, that the author was, at his first setting down to the work, but a *novice* in *ancient lore*; or that the undertaking has not yet educated
him

him into a very *expert antiquary*. Some mistakes, near the beginning of the book, will serve to evince this truth. Others may be placed to the account of mere *inadvertency*. Both kinds are rectified, as far as possible, among the *additions* and *corrections* at the end. — If it should appear to *any* reader, that some of those articles which relate to the *present state* of the *town* have been touched with too light and cursory a hand, he is, in that case, referred to the *constitutions* and *charter* of this Borough, in the latter Appendix, which it was *necessary* to insert; but, on which, it would have been equally *superfluous*, previously, to enlarge.

Fladbury, March, 1794.

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THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
ABB EY AND B O R O U G H
OF
E V E S H A M.

C H A P. I.

NAME, AND ITS ETYMOLOGY.—FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY.

THE derivation of the word EVESHAM is too obvious to make much investigation necessary; and even the little here employed would, I am persuaded, be dispensed with by the common reader. But an antiquary, though of the less rigorous class, will require that the ground be, in some measure, cleared before a foundation is laid. As the few particulars on this subject handed down to us from antiquity are, though in part fabulous, yet curious and interesting to the imagination, it will perhaps be proper to comply with the usual formulary: and if a fabulous origin was, *with any reason*, the delight of former ages, the inhabitants of this town will see that they have little less cause to boast than even Greece herself;—for their origin, not so much from antiquity, as ecclesiastical policy, is almost lost in the clouds of legendary fiction.

The name, at present, written and pronounced Evesham, has, at various periods, been *Homme*, *Hatholm*, *Hethelhomme*, and *Ethomme*;* to which Leland,

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on

* Dr. Nash thinks *Cronuchomme* to have been one of its ancient names; but it seems evident from the old charters that this was the former name of Cracome, or, at least, of a place at some distance from Evesham.

on the authority of Rowse's MSS. has added *Hethbo*.* This last is probably the British appellation of the spot, and is supported only by Leland's authority: but the five former doubtless belonged to the place immediately before its inhabitation. They are all evidently corrupted from, or compounds of, the word *Holm*, which, in the Saxon language, signifies a *river island*, and sometimes a *hill*, or *rising ground*. In both these senses is the word applicable to Evesham; as it is almost insulated by the river Avon, and is moreover situated on a bank rising, in most places, abruptly and steeply from the water. After the foundation of the Abbey, there is reason to suppose that *Evesholme* was, for some time, the proper appellation: a word which I have frequently found in ancient maps, and which comes the nearest of all to etymological truth. This signifies the island or peninsula of *Eoves*; and *Eoves* was the name of the herdsman who, as we shall soon find, had a miraculous intercourse with the Virgin Mary on the spot where the Abbey afterwards stood. When the vicinity began to assume the appearance of cultivation, and became inhabited, it was called *Eovesham*; which name continued to the time of Leland, and probably later. The change of *Holm* to *Ham*, which latter term implies a small town or village, and is the termination of the names of at least one third part of English towns, might then be effected, either by design, or possibly through the mere corrupt use of one syllable for another. In process of time, the *o* being dropped as superfluous, the name of *Evesham* assumed its present form.

Egwin, called St. Egwin† by the courtesy of the monks, was the founder of the Abbey, in the year 709.‡ He was the third bishop§ of the Wiccians, or of Worcester; and as such doubtless possessed some land on or near the site:

* Evesham oppidum sic dictum a pastore ejusdem nominis. Locus ante dictus HETHBO. [Lel. Itin. App. vol. 4.]

† Egwin was of high descent. Rowse's MS. [Lel. Itin. App. vol. 4.] says of him,—"Fuit fundator Eveshamensis cœnobii et filius secundum quosdam Breconi Reguli Breconie."

‡ I have a MS. but without name or reference, which says that he began his Abbey in the year 682. This is before he was made bishop, and seems improbable. Tanner [Not. Mon. p. 168:] says in 701. The date of Constantine's charter may decide the point as to the consecration of his Abbey, but there is reason to suppose that Egwin began to build as early as the year 702.

§ There had been *three* bishops elected to the see before him, whose names were Tadfrith or Tadfrid, Bosel, and Ostfor, or Ostfor; but of these the first died before consecration. [Green's Survey of Worcester, p. 90.]

fite: for *Eoves* is, by William of Malmſbury, ſaid to have been his own herdfman. This man ſaw, or imagined he ſaw there a viſion of the Virgin Mary;* which being reported to Egwin he repaired to the place, and to him the ſame viſion preſented itſelf. There was however this commodious ſuperiority in Egwin's viſion over the ſimple herdfman's, that the Virgin commanded him to build, on that ſpot, a monaſtery for monks of the order of St. Benediſt; which, ſhe added, would be a taſk of charge and trouble to himſelf, but greatly acceptable to her. This was accordingly done: but the founder himſelf will beſt tell us in what manner.

“ I *Egwin*, the humble *bishop* of *Wiccia*, am deſirous to manifeſt to all the faithful in Chriſt, how, by the inſpiration of the Holy Spirit, and by the ſuggeſtions of many and great viſions, it was revealed to me that I ſhould erect an houſe to the honour and glory of almighty God, the bleſſed Mary, and all the elect in Chriſt, and to the furtherance of my own ſalvation. When, therefore, in the days of king Ethelred, I chiefly flouriſhed in his favour, I obtained from him a place called *Haum*, where the bleſſed and eternal Virgin had firſt appeared to a *ſhepherd* named *Eoves*. Afterwards ſhe appeared likewiſe to me, in the ſame place, with two virgins attending her, and holding a book in her hand.† I ſet therefore immediately to work; and, clearing the place from thorns and brambles, by the bleſſing of the great God (praiſed be his name) brought my deſign to its deſired accompliſhment.”

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* Many readers will not, I am perſuaded, think ſo lightly of theſe viſions as ſome pretended philoſophers have done. They may, in that early period of Chriſtianity, have been deemed neceſſary for its farther propagation.—As for their being contrary to the laws of nature, (the uſual objection) we know not, except in very few inſtances, what nature and her laws are.—Thoſe who know moſt of both are, I believe, moſt likely to confeſs their ignorance on the ſubject.

† Dr. Naſh's account of this viſion differs in a few circumſtances. “ Egwin the third biſhop of Worceſter obtained from Ethelward king of Mercia ſome lands in this place. His ſwineherd *Eoves*, looking after a ſow which had ſtrayed among the thickets to farrow, met the Virgin Mary, accompanied with two beautiful virgins, holding a book, and chanting. The report of this viſion coming to the biſhop, he haſtened to the ſpot; and, as he prayed there, was favoured with the like appearance. Encouraged hereby to fulfil a vow he had formerly made to build a church, he related his viſion to Kenred, king of the Mercians, and Offa, ſon to the king of the Eaſt Angles, and obtained from them a grant of ſixty-ſeven manſes on both ſides of the Avon.” [Hiſt. Worc. vol. 1. p. 396.]

The names of those manſes or farms next follow which the founder acquired for the firſt endowment of his monaſtery. They more properly belong to the article of revenue ; but being procured very ſoon after the foundation, may likewise claim a place here.

“ Firſt, I obtained of king Ethelred a certain monaſtery called *Flendaburch* ; which I afterwards changed for another religious houſe at Streatford.* In a ſhort time I acquired, from the king’s brother Ofwald, *thirty manſes* at a place named *Twiford*. Soon after, when Kenred came to the throne, I procured a grant from him of *eighty-four manſes*, upon both ſides of the river called Avon. A young man of the name of Atheric alſo gave me *eight manſes* for my Abbey. Walter, a venerable prieſt, gave me *eight more*. Thus, by the bleſſing of God, in a ſhort time I had collected *one hundred and twenty manſes* for the aforeſaid church of Chriſt. The bounds and limits of theſe lands are written down in a book by archbiſhop Brithwald, at the pope’s command, and approved of by all the nobility of the realm.”

Thus we find this venerable man, actuated in the firſt inſtance, by zeal for religion, and, in the ſecond, by enthufiaſm for the completion of a favourite project, had amaſſed already around his rude walls the revenue of a prince. The names of theſe manſes, as collected into villages, are, ſome of them, not very eaſy now to aſcertain by their modern appellation.

“ *Eoveſham*, (now advancing rapidly in population) *Benyagurth*, [*Bengworth*] *Hautun*, [*Hampton*] *Baddeſey*, *Wicque*, *Haburne*, [*Honybourne*] *Bradfertun*, *Wilerſley*, *Withley*, *Samburn*, *Kinwartun*, *Salford* major and minor, *Ambreſley*, *Ulbeory*, *Mortun*, *Buchtun*, *Melegareſberrie*, *Tittleſtrompe*, *Snella* major, *Mayeldefbeordy*, and *Sildſwick*. All theſe,” ſays the zealous founder, “ I procured free from all ſervice, charge, or tax, for the uſe of God’s holy church.”

In

* Upon condition, ſays Tanner, that the monaſtic rule ſhould be ſtill kept up at *Flandenburch* (*Fladbury*;) and that, after prince Ethilheard’s death, it ſhould revert again to the biſhop and ſee of Worcester: in whoſe poſſeſſion it has ſince continued. [Notitia Mon. p. 617.]

In the charter* of the kings Kenred and Offa, which preceded the above five years, (the date being 709, and that of Egwin's 714) the number of manſes or farms granted are ſixty-ſeven; and the names of the places containing them ſomewhat different from theſe. Three are ſaid to be in *Homme*. One in *Lenchwic*. Seven in *Norton*. One in *Offeham*. Thirteen in *Littleton*. One in *Aldington*. Five and an half in *Baddeſey*. Twelve in *Bretſerton*. Two and an half in *Huniburn*. Seven in *Willerſey*. Three in *Wicwon*; and nine in *Benigwrth* and *Hamton*.† But, in the intermediate ſpace of time, we may reaſonably conjecture not only that many new acquiſitions were made, but likewiſe that many of the former ones were exchanged for others, to obtain the advantage of juxta-poſition and compactneſs. The ſame charter afterwards lays down the limits of the Abbey's territory, by drawing an imaginary line from one exterior village to another. For the names of theſe places the Saxon language is uſed. As they form, altogether, a mere catalogue of much barbariſm in its ſound, and of ſome obſcurity as to preſent ſite and identity, I ſhall inſert them here in a note‡ for the peruſal of the Engliſh reader; referring to the Appendix for this and the remaining charters in their proper order.

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* In the Propylaion to Dugdale's *Monastiſicon*, written by Maſham, is the following paſſage concerning theſe charters: "*Illa Regum [Kenredi et Offæ] charta doctiſſimo Spelmanno ſuſpecta eſt quod Offa ſe Orientalium Anglorum gubernatorem denunciaret; cum eſſet Orientalis Saxo: neque ſatis eſt decorum monachos jam mundo emortuos, ſe Regum titulis adornare. Egwini carta diſplicet, quod, ſubſcriptionis tempore, teſtes partim Romæ fuerunt, partim in Anglia. Nonnullis minus arridet Æra Chriſtiana, quæ vix tandem a Caroli Magni temporibus in uſum venit. Mihi quidem præcox illa Benediſtinæ regulæ mentio recentiore ætate olere videtur.*"—The charter of Conſtantine is in the *Latin* language, but written in *Saxon* characters. This always appeared to me rather a ſuſpicious circumſtance.

† Kenred granted five caſſats of lands, alſo, in Morton, for the founder's uſes.

‡ "Fiſt from *Twiford*, round the ſouthern extremity, as far as *Cronochomme*, in a ſweep of land bounded by the river; and from thence (ſtill following the courſe of the water) to the limits of the lands of *Fladeburg*, called otherwiſe *Meredic*; and ſo ſtraight along the aſcent of the hill through the middle of *Ældegaren*, to *Ealdeneſwinhage*; from thence to *Boelageſette* and *Horthcnol*; from thence, by *Lenedune*, as far as the boundaries of *Lench*, and from *Herverton* to *Wennecumbe*. From thence, by *Fulanbroc*, as far as *Harenwilles*; and to *Carkeford*. From *Carkeford* to *Goldewelle*, and ſo along the brook as far as *Smalmoreſyc*; and, from thence, to the *Avon*, and ſo to *Offepol*. From *Offepol* into *Pikerſhomme*: from *Pikerſhomme* to *Burglences*; from thence to *Ealdenedune*; from *Ealdenedune* to *Ealdenemyxan*. From thence to *Buggildeſtret*, and to *Senieſlod*. From thence into *Chircheſtige*; from *Chircheſtige* to *Flittindgare*; and ſo into *Blackanpyt*. On the eaſtern ſide, not far from

Blackanpyt,

The charter of confirmation* by Constantine I. is dated 709; the same year in which that of the two kings was drawn up. It is in Latin written in Saxon characters, and thunders out denunciations of wrath against any one who should presume to obstruct the progress of this new foundation, or lessen its endowments. To obtain this epistle or charter, Egwin went himself to Rome, in company with the two kings Kenred and Offa, in the year 708. On their return, a general synod or provincial council was held at Alcester, in the following year. From whence all repairing to the favoured spot, Wilfred, bishop of Worcester, and Egwin, in the presence of an acclaiming and assenting multitude, pronounced the following prayer of consecration.

“ O Lord God who inhabitest the heavens, and hast created all things, preserve him who shall in peace preserve this place. We also command, in
the

Blackanpyt, to *Merethurne*; from thence to *Huniburne*; from which place, by *Northamere*, into *Eaſthammere*; from whence, round the meadow of *Poddenho*, into *Podemore*; and so to *Herienhale*. Again to *Huniburne*, and along the brook to *Stainteforth*. Again into *Buggildſtret*, and towards *Scenedune*; and from thence to *Merebroc*. From *Merebroc* to *Meredic*; and so, through *Winburne*, to *Laleſthorn*. From *Laleſthorn*, into *Lavergeboerge*, and to *Poddenhomme*; and from thence to *Polthorne*. From *Polthorne* into *Merebroc*, and so into *Stanitanhulleſſyce*. From thence to *Bureſwelle*, and to *Bureſwalles*; and so on to *Ealdegare*, commonly called *Nanes Monneſland*, near to *Buggildeſtret*; from whence westward as far as *Boerges*. From *Boerges* to *Alwicheſtan*, and to *Cademunſtre*. From thence to *Blechmere*: from *Blechmere* to *Bracedeſtan*; and so to *Ealdegare*, and into *Willerſeia*. From *Willerſeia* to *Sondbroc*; from whence to *Hegewege*, and so into *Northomme*. From *Northomme* to *Brerthurne*; from thence into *Hecheneige*; from *Hecheneige* to *Badefwelle*, and to *Littlethurne*. From *Littlethurne*, through *Pichedeſho*, into *Preſteſmede*; and from thence into *Merethorne*. From *Merethorne* to *Brodemere*; from thence into *Eaſtmerelowe*, and from thence into *Poticot*. From *Poticot* into *Thrittiacre*, and so into *Rugweie*. From *Rugweie* into *Meredic*; from *Meredic* into *Wadberegwe*; from thence into *Lihtmede*. Again, through *Meredic*, into *Eſenburnen*; from whence, again into *Meredic*. From thence into *Wurtemede*, and so into *Merebroc*. Through *Merebroc*, as far as *Domnipol*; from thence into *Halleſburge*. From *Halleſburge* into *Merewelle*; from *Merewelle* again to the river *Avon*.

* Bishop Stillingfleet (*Antiq. Brit. churches*, p. 26.) ſuppoſes the charter or letter a forgery of the monks, in order to increaſe their privileges. This opinion is well controverted by Dr. Naſh, (vol. 1. p. 397.) who obſerves,—“ Though there be many abſurdities contained in the charter, it is ſtill reaſonable to ſuppoſe that it iſſued in this ſtate from the pontifical court, which ſeldom heſitated to impoſe upon the ignorance of the people by the forcible influence of viſions and miracles. And as the authenticity of it was allowed by ſucceeding popes, who would have been intereſted in the detection of ſuch a forgery upon themſelves, it may ſtill be contended for.”

the name of almighty God, that neither king nor prince, nor any man of what degree foever, do, in any wise, prejudice or wrong this holy place. Let it be (as we wish) a well-built fence for the flock and pastors of God, under the power of their own abbot, according to the rule of God and St. Benedict. And if any one, (which God forbid) being transported by the spirit of avarice, shall pervert this institution, let him be judged at the great tribunal of God, and never come into the memorial of Christ. Let his name be for ever blotted out of the memorial of the living, and himself be bound in the chains of eternal torment; unless in this life he, as a penitent, amendeth.” —The multitude of kings, princes, and barons of the various provinces; with the attending archbishops, bishops, clergy, and commonalty, then shouted, as with one voice, “WE LAUD, GRANT, AND CONFIRM.”

This is nearly the whole that can, at present, be collected concerning the original foundation of this very ancient and splendid Abbey. We may add, however, from Malmfbury, that there was, at that time, on the spot an ancient, but small church, probably of British erection. That the good Egwin, as well he might be, had been ever very much attached to the place in which his Abbey afterwards stood. That it was then generally admired for its solitude and remote seclusion; and that the good bishop frequently performed his orisons there. His shepherd, or swineherd *Eoves*, we may reasonably conjecture, did the same; and to this odd, though fortunate conjunction of characters, we owe this *once* magnificent Abbey, and the *present* flourishing town of Evesham.

Concerning the precise form of the buildings erected by Egwin, we are totally in the dark. We only know that in the time of Oswald, the twentieth abbot, the original church fell down, and was rebuilt by him, or some of his immediate successors. Not long after this, Walter, a Norman monk, being made abbot by William I. pulled this second church entirely down, and built another in the style of his country, then little superior to that of the Saxons. If any part of the first erections can be supposed yet to remain, an antiquary would, I believe, fix on the gateway on the north side as that part. It is purely Saxon, and of great antiquity: but there is no memorial, or even tradition, by which we can ascertain its exact date.

C H A P. II.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ABBOTS OF EVESHAM.

THE names of the several Abbots of this Monastery are handed down to us with tolerable exactness, as to chronology, by various authors ; * but the particulars are very scanty that are related of each. These accounts are here collated ; the deficiencies of one author supplied from another ; and many additional circumstances which have occurred in the course of incidental reading are added to them.

The first of these Abbots was the founder himself, who, resigning his bishopric to Wilfred, took that office upon him. In our account of Egwin we must again launch out into fable and legendary tradition. A story of him is related by John of Tinemouth,† which may contend with even the wonderful legend of St. Patrick, and of which the events seem to have taken place previous to the foundation of his Abbey.

“ This

* The chief authors consulted in this part of the work, are Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Stevens's *Supplement*, and *Appendix* to that work, Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, the *Anglia Sacra*, Leland, and Dr. Nash. I expected much new information from MSS. in the Bodleian and British Museum libraries ; but soon found that much the greatest and most material part of them, relating to my subject, had been, long since, copied and printed by Dugdale, Stevens, and others. Some new articles however have been procured from thence. — Many persons have also contributed what MS. papers they had by them relating to Evesham Abbey. Among these was one giving a pretty full account of Abbots, but without name or reference to it. I was long doubtful of its authority : but, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1788, found the same account, word for word, which is there said to have been found among the papers of Mr. Wise, and is intitled, “ A Treatise of the Abbey of Evesham, written as it seemeth by some one of that house. Transcribed by that learned Antiquary Mr. Thomas Talbot, and out of the Latin truly translated.” Near the beginning of this paper we are told :—“ This was written in the 326th year of the foundation of this Monastery, being anno Dom. 1535, the 26th of Henry VIII. the 22d of Clement Lichfield, Abbot of Evesham.” This seemed pretty good authority, and I have followed this MS. sometimes in preference to other accounts. To me, however, Stevens's account of Abbots [*Appendix* No. 137 E. copied from Vesp. B 15. in the Cotton Library] appears not only the most full, but most authentic of all. Talbot's MS. indeed seems to be little more than a translated abridgment of this.

† *Hist. Aur.* cap. 203.

“ This holy man, the higher he was advanced in his station, became only the more conspicuous by his humility, and other virtues. He was the father of the fatherless; the patron of the widow; the comforter of the afflicted. His discourse to the wicked was as a sharp sword: to the virtuous it was milk and honey. He was resolute to the obstinate, but kind and gentle to the meek-hearted. The people finding their bishop a check to their dissolute manners, and that they could no longer be wicked with impunity, began to be much exasperated against this good man, and, at length, drove him from his bishopric: — his enemies not only complaining of him to the king, but also accusing him before the pope.

“ Egwin, though he felt himself innocent of all these imputed offences, yet resolved, as an atonement at once for the sins of the people and his own youthful follies, to bind his legs with iron chains, which he fastened with a lock, and throwing the key into the river Avon, resolved, thus fettered, to perform a pilgrimage to Rome: — saying publicly, That when these his fetters should be loosed by divine interposition, or by the key he had thrown away, then, and not till then, he should be secure that his offences were forgiven. It is reported, that on his arrival at Rome all the bells of that city rang of themselves. He immediately prostrated himself in humble adoration at St. Peter’s church; and afterwards attended the celebration of the mass with the most zealous fervour. In the mean time his servant going into the market for provision, bought a fish; and opening it, found in its belly the identical key that had been thrown into the Avon. They carried it to the bishop, and he unlocked his fetters before them all; the *Roman Tyber* having thus restored what the *English Avon* had swallowed up.”*

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* It does not seem quite certain whether this miraculous voyage was the same with that he performed with Kenred and Offa to Rome, (who took on them the monkish habit and profession) or one previous to it. Talbot’s MS. and some printed books mention two distinct voyages: but the following passage from William of Malmesbury’s life of Aldhelm leaves us still in doubt. “ *Quin et Kenredus rex Merciorum Ethelredi successor, cum Offa orientalium Anglorum Rege Romæ profectus, stadium vitæ decurrit. Quorum societatem adornavit Egwinus felix episcopus; qui postquam beato Aldhelmo iuxta perfolvit, iter illud arduum, ultroneis compedibus illaqueatus, et adorsus et perimensus est.*”

There is in this story, likewise; some diversity, of as little importance as the story itself. It should however be noticed here. William of Malmſbury gives us the following more modest account of these miraculous events.

“ I know not whether we are entirely to credit the traditions of our forefathers, but antiquity relates that Egwin, conscious of some juvenile errors, fastened his legs together with fetters, (the key of which he cast into the river,) and publicly gave out, that then only he should be certain of the remission of his sins, when these fetters should be unlocked by a miracle from heaven, or by their proper key miraculously restored to him. In this condition he went to Rome; and, after a prosperous voyage, when he was crossing the narrow sea that divides England from France, a large fish leaped into the ship that carried him, which, by the assistance of the mariners on board, was secured. On opening his belly, the very key was found belonging to the lock which fastened his fetters: and he thus received full assurance of the remission of his sins.”

It is some satisfaction to be able to add a few particulars more authentic concerning this venerable man: for such, with all his mistaken zeal, he undoubtedly was. His learning was no less exemplary than his piety. He was the author of several works of much erudition for that age; (for erudition, like almost every thing else, is merely relative;) though it is doubtful whether any of these are still extant. One of his books was intitled, “ Egwin’s Apparitions,” and probably gave a full account of the abovementioned miracles. Another contained a history of the origin of his Monastery, and seems nearly connected with the former work. He wrote also the life of St. Aldhelm, bishop of Shirburne,* and the lives of several other saints. His own life was afterwards
written,

* From this work of Egwin I am, contrary to my expectation, enabled to give a small extract preserved in William of Malmſbury’s account of the same prelate; which was no doubt, in a great measure, founded upon Egwin’s. Giving an account of the death and burial of this prelate, he says: “ At this instant, (that of his death) a celestial vision appeared to St. Egwin, and notified to him the death of his companion; commanding him, at the same time, to repair to the place where he died. He, full of grief and love, hastened to Dulting, [in Somersetshire.] Having poured out his prayers for the rest of the defunct, he ordered them, in compliance with his desire, to carry his body to Malmſbury. He appeased the lamentations of the mourners by arguments drawn from religion,

written, as some authors affirm, by archbishop Brithwald, though others say by a monk only of that name. — He lived to see his Monastery flourish in the undisturbed possession of two and twenty towns, or rather large villages, and, after governing it himself about nine years, died on the 30th of December, in the year 717.

Of many of the succeeding Abbots nothing is recorded, but that they preserved, and quietly enjoyed what the good Egwin acquired for them. Their names were,

II. Athelwold,	VIII. Almund,	XIV. Wlfard,
III. Aldbore,	IX. Credanus,	XV. Kynelm,
IV. Aldbath,	X. Tinthferith,	XVI. Kynach,
V. Aldfert,	XI. Aldbald,	XVII. Ebba,
VI. Tyldbrith,	XII. Etbrith,	XVIII. Kynath,
VII. Cutulf,	XIII. Elferd,	XIX. Edwin.

C 2

After

religion, and assisted himself in the pious duty. The last remains were then carried forth by a great train of attendants, of whom each person thought himself the happier in proportion as he was nearer to the body; and to many of whom it was some consolation to see the bier which, from their distance, they were unable to touch. The very appearance of the dead body much alleviated their sorrows; its figure and freshness of appearance remaining still the same. The pomp of these funeral rites was great: and, at the distance of every seventh mile, a stone cross was erected that miracles also might not be wanting to it. To these crosses when any one labouring under any grievous disease approached with faith they were suddenly healed. Tokens of this virtue are to be seen at this very day. Nor let what I here say be received with incredulity, since there are almost as many witnesses of the fact as there are people in the country; amongst whom I cite the blessed Egwin as an undeniable witness, who, in one of his works, has, among others, the following passage:—
“ After two years, Aldhelm, that most pious prelate, departed to Christ: which being made known to me by revelations from above, I called the brotherhood around me, and made them acquainted with the decease of this venerable father. With hasty steps I journeyed to the place where his sacred remains lay still unburied; almost fifty miles beyond the monastery of Malmſbury. I assisted to carry him to his sepulture, and buried him honourably; and commanded that in every place where his body, while carrying to the sepulchre, should rest, they should erect signals [crosses] sacred to God.” “These crosses,” adds our author, “still remain, nor have yet suffered by time. They are called Biceptane, that is, the Bishop’s Stones; one of which may at all times be seen in the cloister of the monastery.” Aldhelm died in 709, the year of the consecration of Evesham Abbey.

After the death of Edwin, a rapacious chieftain of the name of Athelm, or Alchelm, procured a grant of this Abbey from Edward the Elder, and, in the year 941, chased away the monks, and substituted secular canons in their stead. After his death various persons under different kings, calling in the assistance of the laity, obtained possession of this Monastery. Of these one named Wilsius, or Wlricus, kept, for many years, a greedy eye on the territories of the church. Efulph, though a churchman and a bishop, was another of these encroachers. Passing thus from one oppressive owner to another, the state of this Abbey was most wretchedly distracted till the year 960. St. Ethelwold then coming hither by the command of Edgar and the entreaties of Dunstan, appointed

XX. Ofward Abbot. In his time the original church erected by Egwin fell down,* and was by this Abbot rebuilt; nearly, it may be presumed, in the former style, as no considerable improvements in architecture had yet taken place.

It was not probably till after Ofward's death, (as no mention is made of his deposition or ejection in any author,) that Edgar dying also, and Edward succeeding him in the throne, the monks were again expelled by the violence of Alferus, or Elfere,† prince of Mercia. A few secular canons were appointed in their room; but much the greatest part of the Abbey lands were reserved by this prince to his own uses. This happened in the year 977. Elfere, however, soon after falling sick, and despairing of enjoying his ill-gotten possessions much longer, made a merit of restoring them to the Convent from which he had taken them. He sent for a monk (one of those probably whom he had before expelled from this Monastery) of the name of

XXI. Feodegarus, or Freodegar; and, after some penitential converse, bestowed

* All was demolished, it seems, by this fall of the church, excepting the shrine of St. Egwin, which, with his reliques, remained totally unhurt. [Stevens's Appen. p. 137.]

† Elfere expelled the monks every where in the province of Mercia, and restored the seculars. [Tanner, Preface, p. iii.] Dr. Nash, I know not on what authority, makes this Elfere the restorer, instead of the disturber of the monks. [Hist. Worc. p. 398.]

bestowed on him this Abbey, with all those lands he still retained. But this gift was of little value to the poor monk. He became, it is true, the nominal Abbot for a short time: but the canons were too strong for him, and would not be dispossessed except by main force. He had no means of using this, and therefore desisted from his purpose. — Another interregnum of considerable duration now succeeded; for Godwin,* (no doubt the Godwin so celebrated in our early history) about this time made application to Ethelred II. now king, and offered him three hundred marks of gold provided he would sign a grant of this foundation to himself and heirs for ever. The avaricious monarch granting his request, Godwin came hither, subjected the canons to his power, and began to dispose of their possessions as he pleased. On some subsequent misunderstanding, however, between the king and his too powerful subject, Ethelred, soon after, made a second grant of this Abbey to a bishop called Agelsius, or Agelsi; by some authors improperly numbered among the Abbots. But Agelsius also soon experienced the displeasure of this capricious monarch. He was deprived of his bishopric, and banished, or banished himself, during life. Athelstan, likewise a bishop, succeeded in the grant; after whose death Adulf, then bishop of Worcester, possessed himself of this Monastery, and subjected it to his jurisdiction, from which it was unable to emancipate itself till the abbacy of Randulf, under the auspices and counsel of Thomas de Marleberg, a most strenuous defender of his Convent and its privileges. Adulf made

XXII. Africianus, or Alfric, Abbot of Evesham: after whom succeeded

XXIII. Alfgarus, or Alfgar; during whose abbacy, as well as that of his predecessor, Godwin still continued to grasp forty hides of the Abbey lands, of which no profit accrued to the Monastery, except merely the church rents. All emolument arising from the livings was appropriated by the secular priest of each parish.

It is not, I believe, on record at what exact period the monks again resumed their

* Here Dr. Nash again differs from all the other historians. He tells us that *Freodegar* purchased the Abbey for 300 marks, instead of *Godwin*.

their functions: but we may reasonably conjecture that as they went out at Ofward's death or expulsion, they rallied again under the standard of Alfric, who being probably a monk himself, could scarcely be presumed to preside over a body of a different order.* — After the death of Alfgar,

XXIV. Brithenarus, or Brithmar, became Abbot. He is represented as an able, eloquent, and resolute man. He strenuously supported the rights of his house against the powerful Godwin, and often pleaded its cause before several of the principal barons in this country. It was at length adjudged by them, that he should pay to Godwin the same sum of money that Godwin had paid to the king, and afterwards recover the church possessions by course of law. All this he did; and thus regained the forty hides of land so long alienated from the Convent.

XXV. Athelwynus, Agelwy, or Ethelwin, succeeded Brithmar. He was also bishop of Wells. After his death, which soon happened, the insatiable vulture Godwin again invaded this Abbey, and ravaged on its lands and possessions. His conduct, however, being properly represented to the king, Ethelred appointed

XXVI. Ailwardus, Elfward, or Alward, a monk of Ramsey, Abbot of Evesham, about the year 1014. Under sanction of the king's authority, he exerted himself with success against the intruder Godwin, drove him from the Abbey, and recovered all its possessions. Canute his kinsman soon after succeeding to the throne, he was by him made bishop of London some time before the year 1035; but still retained his abbacy in commendam. He presided full thirty years, and dying July 25, 1044, was buried in his former monastery at Ramsey.†

XXVII. Mauricius,

* Tanner says the monks were not restored after their second expulsion till the year 1114; but this certainly is a mistake. I may, on the other hand, have placed their restoration at too early a period, from the impossibility of now deciding whether this Alfric was a monk or secular canon. It is *certain*, however, that in the time of Ailward, (1014) the monks were in possession of this Abbey.

† In Stevens [Appen. p. 137.] may be found some farther particulars concerning this Abbot.
We

XXVII. Mauricius, or Mannius, a monk of Evesham, was next elected Abbot by Edward the Confessor. This man was not only eminent for professional learning and study of the scriptures, but in several mechanic arts was one of the most ingenious practitioners of his age. He was an adept in music, painting, and writing, (then a very rare and capital accomplishment,) and even in goldsmith's work and engraving.* A bad state of health, after some years, inclined him to resign his abbacy to one of his own monks, called

XXVIII. Egelwynus, or Egelwin, in the year 1058. On the application of his predecessor to Edward, he was consecrated Abbot by archbishop Aldred, and was very conspicuous both for high birth and his great acquirements. He was, it appears, much beloved and trusted by William I. to whom he did not fail early to pay court. His great skill in the laws, and the activity, as well as dignity of his character, made him seem to that monarch a person worthy of being entrusted with the care of the counties of Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, Stafford, and Salop; and he was likewise admitted a member of the privy council. He did not, however, neglect his Monastery: but is said to have increased the number of monks from twelve to thirty-six, and to have left behind him five chests of money for the purpose of building a new church. All authors that I have consulted highly extol the character of Egelwin: but an anecdote or two are related concerning him,† which shew him to have possessed a very crafty, wily, and subtle disposition, much better suited to the statesman or deep politician, than the churchman.

During the abbacy of Egelwin, a person of the name of Ærngrim held of the Worcester church some lands at Bengworth, for which he did service to that church. This man seeing one of his neighbours, who also held some of the

We are there told, that when Adulf, bishop of Worcester, claimed for himself and his successors a jurisdiction over this Abbey, Ailward, first of all, asserted its liberty against him, and moreover obtained that one Amkin, prior of his Convent, should be made dean of the whole Vale of Evesham. This, then, is certainly the Abbot called *Aluric* in the paper hereafter inserted concerning the *acts of prior Thomas*. But the confusion of names, and difference in their spelling, is one of the greatest difficulties in writing a history of any remote period.

* Talbot's MS.

† Annal. Wigorn. in the Cotton Library; copied by Dugdale. [Vol. 1. p. 132.]

the Worcester lands there, deprived of them by the violence of Urfo the Vicecomes, came to Egelwin to consult with him how he might prevent the like disaster from happening to himself. Egelwin looking on the business with an eye of shrewd forecast, and at the same time considering his own power and authority in the country, determined to take every advantage from it. He then informed the man, that the best way to prevent a like accident would be to do service to himself, who was so much better able to protect him. The man took his advice ; and thus the lands were irretrievably lost to the Worcester church.—“ Mark only,” says my author, “ how the plotter of mischief fell into the pit he had digged for others.”—It is, however, pretty clear that what this Ærngrim did, he did in the simplicity of his heart, and merely to save himself. But it is true, as this account proceeds to tell us, “ that what for a time defended his property, became afterwards his greatest danger.” He soon found himself entangled in the nets which the crafty Abbot spread around him, and was gradually elbowed out of all his land at Bengworth. The vicinity all cried shame on such abominable proceedings ; but this availed nothing against the power and eloquence of Egelwin, who was on those accounts feared even by the insulting Normans themselves.—In this manner was the Worcester monastery tricked out of its Bengworth estate, and it became parcel of the possessions of Evesham Abbey.*

Another story of this Abbot follows, still more curious, but too long for insertion here. In it is related the manner in which Egelwin contrived to defraud the simple and pious Wulfstan, then bishop of Worcester, of several estates ; which were, in the next Abbot’s time, restored to the Worcester church by the power and justice of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the Conqueror’s brother.—But it finishes with a miracle too curious to be entirely omitted.—Egelwin, in the height of his altercation with Wulfstan, was seized by the gout and died. Wulfstan, like a good prelate, then forgot all former animosities, and devoutly and continually prayed for the repose of Egelwin’s soul. He was,
however,

* There seems to me somewhat of improbability in this story, but it may be owing to the difference of customs in those early times, or perhaps merely to my ignorance of the laws. That estates should be so easily and irrevocably transferred from their right owner, *appears* rather to favour of the *marvellous*.

however, suddenly seized by the same disorder himself, and that of the most painful and incurable kind. In the height of his agony he had a revelation from heaven, — that his distemper owed its cause to the particular mention he made of Egelwin in his prayers. — That when he omitted to do this his disorder would cease. Self-preservation instantly led him to drop his humane interference; and he thus easily cured himself of the gout by *abstinence*, not from *high food* and *rich wines*, but from *prayer*.

In this Abbot's time happened also a filiation from this Abbey, of a kind remarkable enough to merit some attention.

* About the year 1074 there lived a priest of the province of Mercia called *Aldwin*, who was also prior of the monastery of Winchelfcumbe. He was a man of ascetic turn of mind and melancholy habit. By frequently reading the history of the Northumbrian Angles he had learned that there had likewise, in those parts of the kingdom, formerly been men who preferred a state of voluntary poverty to all the fleeting honours and riches of the age; and who, surrounded by choirs of chanting monks, aspired to lead a heavenly life even while on earth. He had learned also that there were still extant some remains of their once splendid monasteries. In the true spirit of monkish Quixotism he burned to visit even the vestiges of those holy places; and, if possible, to persuade some of his own order to join in the undertaking: and, settling there, lead a life of voluntary poverty and self-denial. It may fairly be presumed there was but little of either to be found in his own convent; for we do not find that he inspired into any one there his own sentiments. He came therefore to Evesham, and had the good fortune to bring over to his own way of thinking two of that fraternity: one of them a deacon named Elfwy, the other, says my account, “an unlearned man of the name of Renfrid.” The Abbot, however, would not suffer these to depart till he had first instituted Aldwin their president, and had to him committed the care of their souls. These three monks set out together on foot; their whole train consisting of an ass which carried their books, sacerdotal vestments, and other necessities.

D

After

* Chron. Dunelm. in Bibliotheca Bodl. [H. 76. fol. 3. b.]

After a tedious journey, (for such it must have been, as well as perilous, in some degree,) they got to York, where they requested Hugo the son of Baldric, then Vicecomes, to furnish them with a guide to Manchester, now Newcastle. There they arrived, and remained some time: but found no vestiges, in that place, of any ancient Christian fraternity. The venerable bishop Walcherus, hearing of their arrival, sent a message to them requesting they would come to him, and from him receive a settled habitation under the protection of his power and influence. Willingly complying with this invitation, they were received by the good bishop with much honour and satisfaction; who also publicly gave thanks to God that he was esteemed worthy to have under his care, in his remote province of Northumbria, men who so strictly professed the monastic regulation. He gave them then the monastery of St. Paul the Apostle, in the district of *Girve*, formerly built by a Benedictine abbot, of which the walls only, without any roof, remained yet standing, and which preserved scarce any tokens of its ancient magnificence.

Over these naked walls laying some straw and unhewn timber, they began to perform divine service there, and made, as well as they were able, a sort of dormitory under shelter. They were at first sustained entirely by the charity of well-disposed persons, and preferred, or seemed to prefer, their present life of cold and hunger to all the comfort and abundance of the monasteries they had left. In the mean time, many excited by their example, renouncing secular delights, took on them the monastic habit, and learned this mode of Christian warfare under the regular standard of St. Benedict. It is remarkable enough that few of these were Northumbrians, but much the greater part from the southern districts.

Seeing their almost daily increase, they were soon richly endowed by their good bishop and other pious benefactors; who rejoiced at this revival of the ancient discipline in that country. From these three itinerant monks, in process of time, three of our richest foundations took their rise: one at *Durham*, dedicated to the Virgin and St. Cuthbert; another at *Leasingham*, from which, after a time, sprung the monastery of St. Mary, at York; and a third at a place called anciently *Strenefshalgh*, now *Owythy*.

The

The good old Mannius lived seven years after his resignation, and at length died in January, 1065, on the same night, and in the same hour with Edward the Confessor. His successor, the encroaching Egelwyn, survived till March, 1077 : when, dying of the gout, he was succeeded by

XXIX. Walter, a monk of Cerafia, brought in doubtless by William I. Stevens* says he was *sent* hither by this monarch within three months after the decease of Egelwin. Talbot's MS. tells us not till 1086. Dugdale and the other writers agree with the former account, and make 1086 the year in which he died. — Beside the authority of the manuscript above-mentioned, which is certainly pretty good, there is a great probability likewise that the unsettled state of that period, the frequent insurrections, the contentions between the English and Normans for places of trust and dignity, *might* occasion a vacancy for some years : — whether for so many as nine is a point the reader must determine for himself. It may however be observed, that no great degree of improbability is added to this supposition by its contracting the government of the following Abbot to the short space of three years ; for it is an abbacy of which very few particulars are told.

However this may have been, it is certain this Norman Abbot was dissatisfied with the style of architecture at Evesham, and resolved to amend it according to his own improved ideas. He took the church quite down, though esteemed one of the first in England, and began a new one in the style of his country : — a Gothic species, but by no means of the purer sort. His plans exceeding in expence the estimate he had made, money was wanting to complete them. St. Egwin's shrine was made use of to excite the zeal of the pious on this laudable occasion. It was carried by his monks throughout all England, and a large sum of money collected. That the church was immediately the object or the produce of this fund there is some reason to doubt, if it be true, as is asserted, that this church was not dedicated till the abbacy of Richard le Grai ; more than one hundred and fifty years afterwards.

* Appendix 136 E. copied from Vesp. B. 15. fol. 17. in the Cotton Library.

Many estates which Egelwyn had so craftily acquired were, in this Abbot's time, again separated from the Convent. This business is briefly mentioned in *Domesday-book*,* where the name of *Walter* also occurs. He is, notwithstanding this, said to have increased the number of monks. After presiding seven years, he died in February, 1093.†

XXX. Robert, a Norman monk of Jumieges, or Gimeges, was the next Abbot. Of him little memorable is related, except that in his time the market of Stow was obtained by Ralph, the king's chancellor. Both this Abbot and his predecessor are said to have distributed much of the Abbey land among their relations.—It is probable that the mission of twelve monks to Othenesey, in Denmark, happened during his government; as we are expressly informed they were commanded thither by William II. Their office was to instruct the monks of the new-founded monastery there in the Benedictine discipline and regulations, and to bring every thing, as near as possible, to the model of the mother Convent. It became afterward a cell to Evesham; and there is a charter or epistle extant, dated 1174, which ratifies this filiation; from which some extracts will be given in the account of the customs of this Abbey. It is known that at the the time this filiation was made, there were sixty-seven monks at Evesham.‡ — Robert died in the year 1096.

XXXI. Mauritius, or Maurice, a monk of Evesham, succeeded him. His abbacy

* “*Ipse ecclesia tenet 4 hidas ad Beningeorde, & 5 hidas tenet Urso. Has 5 hidas diratiocinavit Walter Abbas ad Udibergam in 4 sciras, coram Episcopo Baiocensi et aliis Baronibus Regis.*” [*Domesday Book*, p. 175.]

† According to Talbot:—in 1086 according to other writers.

‡ There were also, at this time, in the Evesham Monastery five nuns, three paupers at command, and three clerks, who enjoyed equal privileges with the monks. They had fifty-nine servants in the Abbey: five of whom attended in the church; two in the infirmary; two in the chancery; five in the kitchen; seven in the bake-house; four in the brewery; four in the bath; two as shoemakers; two in the pantry; three as gardeners; one at the gate of the cloister; two at the great gate; five in the vineyard; four waited on the monks when they went abroad; four as fishermen; four in the Abbot's chamber; three in the hall; and two as watchmen. [Stevens's *Append.* p. 137.]

abbacy was long, but nothing is recorded of it. He lived till 1122. His successor was

XXXII. Reginald, a monk of Gloucester. This Abbot was nephew to Milo, earl of Hereford, with whom he went to Rome in prosecution of a cause against the bishop Simon,* in the pontificate of Innocent II. The cause was most probably gained, for we find on record that he obtained many great and splendid privileges for his Convent. Among these, we may presume, was the use of the mitre and other pontifical ornaments. To this may be added, though an event of little importance, that he removed some barracks, or houses of the soldiers of Kynewarton and Gocton, who were stationed near the Abbey, and much incommoded it. Where materials are so scanty we are glad to detail even the slightest. Reginald died in September, 1149, and was followed by

XXXIII. William de Andeville, a monk of Canterbury: a true member of the church militant. He ventured, with much resolution, to excommunicate William de Bello Campo, or de Beauchamp, with all his followers in arms. They had, it seems, destroyed the walls of his cemetery, and made some depredations on his convent. "Whereupon (says the good old MS. I chiefly follow,) not one of them departed this life in a Christian manner, or had Christian rites bestowed on their funeral." But this courageous Abbot went still further. He knew how to improve his victory; and attacking (whether at the head of his monks we are not informed,) the castle of Bengworth, which stood near the bridge, and was the property of his antagonist, he took it, and razed it to the foundation. Then, by a sort of retaliation, he caused a church-yard or cemetery to be consecrated on the spot. He died in January, 1159.

XXXIV. Roger,† a monk of St. Augustin's, in Canterbury, succeeded him. After a very short abbacy, he died in January, 1160.

XXXV. Adam,

* *On foot*, in company with Simon, bishop of Worcester, according to the Evesham Register.

† This Abbot is entirely omitted in Talbot's MS. which circumstance, together with the short period

XXXV. Adam, a monk of Cluny, or, as Talbot's MS. calls him, Adam Clunienfis de Caritate, was then made Abbot. He was a very learned man, and (for his age,) a great writer. Leland fays of him — that the making him Abbot was rather an honour to the Convent than to himfelf.—He faw more peaceable and happy times :—times in which religion and its profefors, undifturbed by tumults and infurrections, received their due honours from all well-difpofed perfons. It is related of this Abbot that he had the golden cup made which his fucceffor contributed toward the ranfom of Richard I. But this, unlefs we attribute a gift of prefcience to him, muft be deemed a miftake ; as Richard was not taken prifoner by the Auftrians till December 20, 1192 :—a full year after his death. The Abbey flourifhed much under his government, and he procured for it many new and fplendid privileges.* After prefiding above thirty years in great tranquility, he ended his life in November, 1191.† — His fucceffor

XXXVI. Roger Noricus, or Norreys, a monk of Canterbury, was by no means worthy of him. He had been imprifoned for fome immoral aét by his own convent, and obtained his liberty only by breaking from thence. For a confiderable time he was in a manner expatriated and difowned by any monaftery ; till, by fome means or other, making friends at court, he was by the royal mandate created Abbot of Evesham. The monks there however confidered

period allowed to him, had, at firft, determined me to reject him. But all other authors agree in numbering him among the Abbots. Dugdale, whose account of the Evesham Abbots was copied from a MS. of Sir Simon D'Ewes, now, I believe, in the Bodleian, fays only of him :—" Pro tempore viriliter tamén ficut Abbas vixit, et obiit 2 nonas Januarii, Anno Dom. 1159." Dr. Nafh, from the Evesham Register, fays of this Abbot, that " he was honoured by pope Clement with the ufe of the gloves, ring, mitre, dalmatica, and other facerdotal garments ; all of which he was allowed to wear within his Monaftery on folemn days, at the proceffion of the monks, in councils of the Roman pontiff or his legate, and in epifcopal fynods. [Hift. Worc. vol. 1. p. 399.]

* Evesham was a mitred and parliamentary Abbey ; and it is probably from about this period we may date its becoming fo. In a register of the dean and chapter of Worcester, (called Extenta,) it is faid that the Abbot of Evesham held his barony in the counties of Worcester, Gloucefter, and Northampton, of the king, by the fervice of four knight's fees and an half. [Hift. Worc. vol. 1. p. 401.]

† In Stevens [Appendix, p. 138.] we are told he died in 1211. This makes his abbacy laft fifty-one years :—furely an unreafonable and improbable length of time.

considered him as an alien and an intruder. He discovered on many occasions a lofty spirit, and abounded with a variety of learning. But, at length, for his waste of the revenue, for his luxury, drunkenness, tyranny, and other enormities, (exaggerated a little no doubt by the good monks,) he was deposed by Richard, bishop of Tusculum, then in England as the pope's legate, and from an Abbot descended to be prior of Penwortham, in Lancashire; a dependent convent. This happened in the year 1213, to the great joy of the Evesham monks; and, after surviving three years in his new office, he died and was buried there.* To him succeeded

XXXVII. Randolph, or Ralph, prior of Worcester, but born at Evesham, a reverend and virtuous pastor. He had been elected bishop of Worcester, but choosing afterwards to decline that eminent station, resigned it, and was by the bishop of Tusculum confirmed Abbot of Evesham. He was not consecrated till 1221; when that ceremony was performed at York by the bishop of Chichester. In the second year after his installation he went to Rome to attend a general council, where he obtained several privileges, and settled many

* In Stevens [Append. p. 138.] are several minute particulars concerning this Abbot's conduct. He was, it seems, too much the courtier and secular man for the monks. After he had been Abbot a few years, he was so elated by a sense of his own great erudition, and by his intemperance, that he seemed quite mad, and to throw off all the cares of his office, and of the souls of his flock. He oppressed the monks in every manner:—by depriving them of *clothes*, for want of which many could not attend divine service;—of *food*, so as to keep them many days only on dry bread; and by giving them *bad small beer instead of ale*. The monks complained to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, then legate; who, in some degree, redressed their grievances. But after his office was expired this Abbot began again to oppress them so far as even to appropriate the Convent rents to his own use. The monks complained a second time to Hubert; who, coming to Evesham in a chafe, enquired into all these matters. The cunning Roger then began to tamper with some of the less rigid brethren, and by bribes and promises brought them over to his party. Thus, and by restoring a temporary order in the Convent, he made his peace. After Hubert was gone his tyranny grew worse than ever. He not only starved his monks, as before, but alienated many of their possessions, and enriched his relations with them. At length a legate came over from the pope; when he was accused of all these offences by *Thomas de Marleberg*, as will hereafter be related, and deposed from his office.—There is in the British Museum [Vitellius E. xviii. 10. Cott. MSS.] a copy of a *convention* made between Robert II. Abbot of Malmesbury, and Roger II. Abbot of Evesham, for the communication of benefices both spiritual and temporal. From this some extracts will hereafter be given.

many new regulations concerning the customs and rents of his Monastery.* After presiding above fifteen years, he died January 16, 1229.

XXXVIII. Thomas de Marleberg,† or Marlborough, before prior, succeeded to the dignity of Abbot. By the new regulations he could not be ratified but by the pope himself; and, with a derogation from the archbishop, he was the next year consecrated by the bishop of Coventry.

Of this man much remains on record; but of a kind that will please the antiquary more than the common reader. A Latin paper of considerable length, and written probably very near this period, is still extant; which, as it contains much curious and minute information, I have translated and shall here insert. It is, like most of the monkish Latin, in a very perplexed style, and has many appropriate terms, which (it being difficult to render them in English,) will be left for the exacter antiquary in their original form. The whole throws much light on the state of the Monastery at the time it was written, and even on that of their long-forgotten buildings; the very *demolition* of which has now become a curious object of antiquarian research.

“ In the third year after Thomas was admitted monk of Evesham, as his skill in the laws was well known and acknowledged by all, the Abbot and Convent, though reluctantly, at length adopted his plans, and repulsed the
bishop

* In the chapter on the customs of this house a paper is inserted, on that subject, written by this Abbot.

† The acts of this Abbot are by Dr. Nash [see note (p) in vol. 1. p. 399.] attributed to Thomas de Glocestria, the next Abbot but one. Confiding in so good authority, I was about to have inserted them in my account of his abbacy; but in Stevens's Appendix I met with a passage which evidently decides the point in favour of this man. In the account of Roger de Norreys, or Noricus, as he is there called, we read that the pope's legate, “ *Nicholaus Tufculensis Episcopus cum Eveshamiæ causa visitationis venisset, ex precepto ejusdem legati, surrexit Thomas de Marleberge monachus dictæ domus, & statum domus ejus retulit, & Abbatem coram eo accusavit, & super septem vel octo criminibus eum convicit; & ita depositus est Abbas, & factus est prior de Penwortham.*” These are the very words of part of the Latin paper, “ *de bonis operibus prioris Thomæ;*” and if this particular action be ascribed to him, on so good authority, all the rest belongs to him of course.

bishop of Worcester, then on his way to hold a visitation at Evesham. This, since the time of Abbot Aluric, none had ventured to do. He was afterwards made dean of the valley of Evesham,* an office that no other person had exercised since the priority of Avicius and Aluric. While procurator at the Roman court, it was chiefly owing to his industry and labour that a sentence was issued from the pope for the exemption and liberty of the Evesham church from all jurisdiction of the see of Worcester.† By his prudence, seconded by that of the other brethren, certain rents were assigned to various offices in the Convent; augmented in some, and from others entirely taken away.

“ After his return from Rome, he, according to instructions he received there, advised that the customs of the Monastery, and the rents belonging to it, should be written down and confirmed by the seal of the Abbot and Convent, of the pope’s legate in England, and even of the pope himself. This, with much labour and difficulty, was at last effected; but unless providence had favoured the attempt, the lives of many monks must have been lost in the enterprise.

“ After the falling of the tower, when all the fraternity despaired of its reparation, and still more of the restoration of the church, much damaged by its fall, this man, at the request of the brethren and command of the Abbot, diligently set to work in repairing it. Although he had no competent sum allowed him for the undertaking, yet, with his own money, labour, and wonderful perseverance, he within two years rebuilt the walls of the presbytery, (excepting only that the beams were furnished him at the Convent’s expence,) and this in the manner of a corridor, so as to leave a space for walking round that edifice:‡—an improvement never before attempted in any convent. He also completely repaired the rest of that building, with

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* Decanus Christianitatis vallis Evesham.

† See the charter at length in Dr. Nash. [Hist. Worc. vol. 1. p. 401.]

‡ It does not quite clearly appear whether this sort of corridor was within, or on the outside of the building

the roofs also of the crypts* adjoining to it, and furnished more than half the rafters necessary for the tower.

“ Our Abbot rendered secure by his exemption from all authority except the pope’s, had delapidated and damaged many of our fixtures ;—had brought the Convent into debt to above the value of a thousand marks ; and had so much depressed the state of the Evesham Monastery, that many of the monks scarcely possessed decent clothing, could sleep under a dry roof, or procure a proper supply of food. Thomas, then only dean, and not yet our prior, erected himself as a wall in the defence of the Lord’s house, and when the pope’s legate came on other business to Evesham, he referred to him *the state of the Convent*. The legate coming hither a second time, he boldly accused the Abbot before him ; and by his own confession, — by the testimony of things themselves, — and by that of the whole brotherhood, convicted him of seven or eight distinct offences. Thus, at the hazard of his habit if he had failed in the accusation, Abbot Roger was deposed, to the great benefit of the Evesham church. After his deposition those fixtures were recovered that, under various pretences, had been alienated by him, and even the restoration of twenty marks was effected, which was a part of the sum of fifty marks for which the privileges of the Convent had been pledged to the court of Rome, during the vacancy, and in the abbacy of Randulf. So great was the joy of the Convent on account of this liberation, and such honour accrued from it to the dean and his successors, that, on the annual election to that office, a pittance extraordinary was dealt out to the Convent.

“ In the second year of Randulf’s abbacy, Thomas, then dean, went with him to Rome to a general council, where, by his prudence and advice, a new arrangement in the business of the Convent rents was confirmed, and many other useful matters settled.

“ Returning

* The word crypt seems likewise to have here a doubtful signification. It is uncertain whether a subterraneous vault or chapel is meant, or merely a vaulted aisle of the church ; as it is, even in this paper, used in both senses. Here I suppose it means the roof of a side aisle contiguous to the presbytery.

“ Returning from Rome, after two years he was elected sacrist. He then made a reading desk behind the choir, which the Evesham church had not before, and appointed stated readings to be held near the tomb of St. Wilfrid. He made also a fish-pool in the cloister, just out of the church gate, and built an apartment in the church; repairing likewise the lower part of the clock.* Twelve albs were furnished us by his care and economy. All the glass windows that had been broken by the fall of the tower were mended by him, and all the shrines fully repaired. The shrine of St. Wilstan he entirely rebuilt. He repaired the three tablets of the high altar, enlarged that in the front of the same altar, and much improved the altar itself. These had all been demolished almost beyond the hope of reparation by the fall of the above-mentioned tower, nor were fewer than ten marks necessary to renew them. He also replaced the five arches of the presbytery, and one before the glass gate. He increased the rents of the sacristy to two marks, by reclaiming the profits arising from Norton church to their original and proper use * * * *
Iste etiam sacrista primus obtinuit bovem secundo meliorem demortuorum cum corporibus,† et denarium offerendum ad missam mortuorum evicit. By the profits of which new regulations he procured it to be ordained in the chapter, that the lamps before the great altar, and those before the altar of St. Mary, in the crypts, should be kept perpetually burning. All this he effected within the space of one year.

“ Leaving his office thus rich in good works, he was then elected prior. In this office he buried his predecessor, prior John, in a new mausoleum; and also John, surnamed Dionysius: of the latter of whom prior Thomas was accustomed to say, that “ He had never known any man who so perfectly performed every kind of penance as he did for more than thirty years; in fasting and prayer,—in tears and watching,—in cold and corporeal infliction,—in coarseness and roughness of cloathing,—and in denying himself bodily comforts far more than the other brethren; all which he dedicated to good uses and the support of the poor.”

E 2

“ Thomas

* “ Et cameram in Ecclesia cum pede orologi reparavit.”

† The former part of this sentence I do not at all understand.

“ Thomas had brought with him to the Convent many books of both kinds of law, canon and civil, by which he had regulated the schools before he became a monk either at Oxford or Exeter. He brought the first book of *Democritus*, the book of *Antiparalenion*,* the *Gradual* of Constantine, the *Quadrismus* of Usidorus, *Tully de Amicitia*, another book of *Tully*, *Tully de Senectute*, and de *Paradoxis*, *Lucan*, *Juvenal*, and many other authors; with many sermons, notes, and questions in theology: and also many notes on the art of grammar, with the rules of that art, and the book concerning accents.

“ After his priorship was ended he made a large breviary, the best then extant in the Monastery; and bound up *Hamo* on the Revelations, and the lives of the patrons of the Evesham church, with the acts both of good and bad men of that church, in one volume. He also bound up the same lives and acts, separately, in another volume. He made likewise a large psalter, the best in the Convent, excepting those with the glosses. He collected all that was requisite for forming four antiphonaries, with their notes; except that the brethren of the Monastery helped to transcribe them. He finished many books which William de Lith, of pious memory, had begun:—the *Martirologium*, the *Exceptio Missæ*, and some excellent notes on the psalter, and two *Communions of the Saints* in the old Antiphonaries. He bought also the four Evangelists, with glosses, the books of *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel*, with a paraphrase, the *Postilla* upon *Matthew*, some allegories on the old Testament, the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, with a paraphrase, the Exposition of the Mass according to pope Innocent, and the book of the great *Alexander Nequam*,† which is called *Corrogationes Promethei de partibus veteris Testamenti et novæ*.

“ He had also two albs made for the Convent’s use, with ornaments of gold interwoven, and adorned two black copes with golden flowers.

“ He built the towers of the presbytery, and laid five stone tablets over the roofs of the five crypts. That part of the church which is over the altar
of

* Concerning this book any information would be very acceptable.

† “ *Librum etiam magni Alexandri Nequam.*” Is this book still extant?

of St. John Baptist was, after the second falling of the tower, repaired by him ; and he gave it the form of a corridor, that people might walk round that part of the church. He erected the two towers over the same part of the church, and faced them with stone. The painted window in the presbytery, which represents the history of St. Egwin, was also *made*, and the two ancient painted windows in the West front of the church, *repaired* by him. He restored the throne of St. Egwin, and his shrine, ornamented with flowered work and some precious stones, which had likewise suffered by the fall of the tower. He erected the four first stalls in the prior's choir, and made the forms in the same choir.

“ The same Thomas bought ten acres of land in Littleton, of Radulf, the steward there, in addition to the revenue of the priorship, and particularly in aid of the anniversary of the then prior H. — with intent that he should, on that day, sustain twenty-five poor persons. This land he afterwards changed for some in Bengworth. He bought an estate also at Merstowe, of Hugo de Warwic ; another of the daughter of a serjant,* for the expences of his own anniversary ; and a wood of Peter de Lent, for the same purpose, and that the pittance of the Convent should have a fund for the sustenance of animals.

“ The greater part of the chapter-house was painted by his directions ; and a bath was by him made in the cloister, before the gate of the Monastery. He expended fifteen shillings in materials and in the payment of workmen, for the reparation of the great lavatory. He contributed above a mark toward finishing the great bell-tower begun by Adam Sortes. The walls of the monks cemetery he repaired at a great expence, and supported the private dormitory, almost in ruins, by three arches ; in which he expended above four marks. He built the great arch of the new infirmary, which cost him about the same sum. In supplying the beams, lead, and paying the workmen for covering one angle only of the great tower of the church, he laid out twenty shillings. He furnished all the vestments for the chapel of the upper infirmary, and likewise its glass gate. He suspended the lesser vessel of the eucharist by a silver

* Serjanti.

ver chain, and, in the refectory, hung a bell on a wheel with an iron chain to it, and renewed the inscription on the great altar *without looking into a book*.* It was his custom always to supply little defects of this kind.

“ This prior bought also an estate of Adam Peterel, and gave half to the almshouse, and the other half to supply the lamps of St. Mary in the crypts. He strengthened the windows of the misericordia with iron bars, to prevent entrance to thieves; and used great diligence and many entreaties with Abbot Randulf, till he prevailed that the entrance of the infirmary might be widened to the breadth of the kitchen. He, with great expence, strengthened and adorned the walls of the cloister, and had the gate of the misericordia turned to the side we now see it. A very laudable custom was first instituted by him:—that the shrines of St. Creedan and of St. Wlstan should, on their festivals, be placed before the altar; and that the prior for the time being should then, from the profits of the Littleton and Bengworth estate, supply one wax taper to burn continually, day and night, before the relics of those saints. He repaired the beam before the altar of St. Peter, with its cross and images, and raised higher the window of the vestry.

“ He moreover caused to be written in a volume, in large letters, the book concerning the office of Abbot, from the purification of St. Mary to the feast of Easter;—the prelections concerning Easter, Pentecost, and the ceremony of blessing baptismal fonts: and caused another volume containing the same works to be written in a smaller character; all which the Convent had not, in any order, before. He made also the tablet for the locutory, in the chapel of St. Anne, toward the West. After the altar of St. Mary in the crypts had been despoiled by thieves of its books and vestments, to the value of ten pounds, he contributed to their restoration; and, for that purpose, bought an alb, with ornaments of gold interwoven. He also gave half a mark for the charter of confirmation of the estate at Radford, destined for the uses of the same altar, and three shillings toward the purchase of a dalmatica of red satin for the Abbot Randulf. It was always the custom of this good monk, as far as lay

* “ Sine libro:”—by memory.

lay in him, to supply all defects ; and, as far as he possibly could, to prevent any of the Convent's affairs from being neglected or left unfinished."

From this long and minute detail, it will at least be made evident to the reader, that the aforesaid prior Thomas was a man who would, in any station of life, have forced himself into eminence. Neither the gloom of a convent, nor its prevailing languor and inactivity, could restrain his busy, bustling, and (in the present case,) useful ardour. Had his lot been cast in any of the higher ranks of secular society, instead of repairing the fret-work of a chapter-house, or denouncing his Abbot to the pope, we should have seen him new-modelling the government of states, and disturbing the repose of neighbouring empires. He was surely therefore best in the station in which we find him placed.

After a very active abbacy of about seven years, Thomas died on the 12th of September, 1236, and was buried under the South wall of the church, against which, during his life-time, he had a marble image in pontificals engraved, and had in like manner adorned the tombs of several of his predecessors.

XXXIX. Richard le Gras, or le Grai, who had before been prior of Hurley, in Berkshire, succeeded him. This Abbot was afterwards made chancellor of England, and was much employed by Henry III. both at home and abroad. In his time, says Dugdale, the church of Evesham was dedicated by John, bishop of Worcester.* But we have heard of no new erection since the time of Walter ; and it is difficult to conceive either that a church should be one hundred and fifty years in building, or that it should have remained long undedicated, after being built. It is very probable, however, that the
good

* Dugdale [vol. 1. p. 152.] calls him only "venerabilis pater Johannes Episcopus." Dr. Nash [vol. 1. p. 399.] says he was bishop of Worcester. But there was no bishop there, of that name, at this time. John de Constantiis died 1198, and this dedication is said to have been performed in 1239. At this ceremony, (whenever it may have happened,) the bishop granted to all penitents of this church one hundred days indulgence, and the same at every anniversary of this day. On every feast of the Holy Cross, of St. Mary, and St. Egwin, the same indulgence was allowed. [Stevens's Append. p. 138.]

good monks may have designedly retarded its progress, through pretence of poverty, and to leave an opening for charitable contributions. This has frequently happened; and, I believe, is still the case with the beautiful fabric dedicated to St. Ambrose, at Milan. — This Abbot, after presiding six years, died at Riolo, in Gascony, on December 8, 1242. He had been nominated bishop of Lichfield, but did not live to receive consecration.

XL. Thomas de Glovernia, or Gloucestria, as he is called by some writers, was the next Abbot. He had been a monk of this house, and is said by Dr. Nash to have been prior of Penwortham. He was confirmed the following year by Innocent IV. but could not obtain his temporalities from the king, till a special mandate for that purpose had been sent by the pope.* In his time, we are informed from the register of Abbots inserted by Stevens,† and in the year 1251, bishop Jocelin held an ordination during Lent in Evesham church. Thomas‡ governed about fourteen years, and died December 15, 1255. He was buried in the middle of the church.

XLI. Henry, who had been prior of Evesham, succeeded him. He too was an active and prudent man, and a great benefactor to his Convent. This period may indeed be termed its golden age. Several such alert and beneficent Abbots in succession, must have raised its prosperity and beauty to their utmost height. No particulars are however handed down to us of this Abbot's munificence, except that he discharged a debt of fifteen hundred marks which had been contracted by his predecessors. He was confirmed Abbot by Alexander IV. and after presiding seven years, with much wisdom, and credit to himself and the Convent, he died in November, 1263, and was interred also in the body of the Abbey church.

A vacancy

* It is moreover asserted in Talbot's MS. that the bishop of Ely who consecrated this Abbot was required first to take the oath of obedience to the king, who was probably nettled at the exempt jurisdiction claimed by this Abbey.

† Append. p. 138.

‡ This Abbot's name is very variously written. He is called Thomas de Glancer in Talbot's MS. de Glovernia by Dugdale, and de Gloucestria in Stevens.

A vacancy of the office of Abbot, of three years duration, succeeded, of which it is not very difficult to assign the cause; though every one of the authors I have consulted are silent concerning it. The times were now become exceedingly turbulent, and the contention between the king and his barons had arisen to its greatest height. That these commotions (of which, in great part, the scene was laid so near this Monastery,) should affect its internal state, cannot be deemed wonderful.

It is very remarkable that Stevens,* in his short list of the Abbots, speaks of the famous battle of Evesham as having happened in the abbacy of William de Whitchurche, who did not enter on his office till the year 1266. Dugdale, whom Stevens chiefly follows, is entirely silent on the subject. Dr. Nash, the latest writer on this Abbey, supposes it to have happened in the time of John de Brokehampton, who could not have entered on his office till 1282, as his predecessor did not die till that time. He afterwards informs us that the battle of Evesham happened in 1265, which is certainly the right year, but strangely contradicts his former position. It undoubtedly did happen in that year; and thus during this very vacancy, of which it was evidently, in a great degree, the cause. — It is however very easy, and of little merit for a writer, who fixes his eye only on a small portion of history, to correct the mistakes of those who have their minds burdened and their attention bewildered by an extensive, and almost trackless wilderness of historical events.

When the black clouds of anarchy dispersed, and the times became more quiet, Ottoboni, the pope's legate, came to England, and appointed

XLII. William de Wytechurche,† (formerly a monk of Pershore, and afterward Abbot of Alcester,) Abbot of this Monastery, in the year 1266. By this man was purchased, of William Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, the manor of Bengworth, with all the lands and tenements belonging to it. William de Wytechurche died August 3, 1282. His successor was

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XLIII. John

* Supplement, vol. i. p. 460.

† Called in Talbot's MS. Sir Wm. de White-church.

XLIII. John de Brokehampton, a monk of Evesham.* He was confirmed Abbot at Rome, by Martin IV. Much was done by this man toward the ornament and accommodation of his Convent. He built the cloister opposite to the chapter-house; vaulted it over, and made a library above it. It was during his abbacy that Henry Latham, one of his monks, built the refectory, great hall, Abbot's hall, kitchen, and chapter-house; the last of which, for size and beauty, excelled all others in the kingdom. John† dying August 18, 1316, was succeeded by

XLIV. William de Chyryton, or Cheriton, likewise a monk of this Convent. He was, on Quadragesima Sunday, confirmed Abbot by John XXII. In his time William Stow, the sacrist of the Convent, built, in the year 1319, the new steeple or belfry. He presided twenty-eight years, and died December 13, 1344.

XLV. William de Boys, or Boyce, was, in the ensuing month of January, unanimously

* About this time, and probably in John de Brokehampton's abbacy, one Richard de Evesham was Abbot of Vale Royal, in Cheshire. He was called so, I presume, from his having been born at Evesham; for as the abbey of Vale Royal was a Cistercian foundation, it is not very likely Richard had ever been a monk of Evesham. This abbey was founded by Edward I. in the year 1277, in consequence of a vow he had made when prince of Wales, during a storm at sea. The abbey at first was very small, and Richard was the last of three Abbots who governed it in that state. It was afterwards much enlarged, and beautiful ruins of it are still to be seen. Dugdale has copied a very full account of the foundation and early transactions of this monastery from an old register, to which I refer the reader as one of the most curious specimens of monkish history I have yet seen. It is wild, enthusiastic, and full of miracles, which are sometimes pleasingly related. Among other odd and unexpected strokes is the following:—"Istis, et aliis signis claruit vir Domini Ricardus; qui idcirco dici potest Ricardus, id est ridens carus et dulcis." [Dugdale's Mon. vol. 2. p. 928.]

† John de Brokehampton is said to have acquired many new possessions for the Convent. He obtained of the king, (for the consideration of two hundred pounds,) that the prior and Convent should have the custody of Evesham Abbey during vacancies; paying for their privilege, at each time, one hundred and sixty pounds. He gave the king one thousand marks for the uses of war, and two hundred and fifty marks "*pro medietate bonorum suorum in uno anno.*" He also paid to the king one hundred marks for some trespasses committed by his men in the forest of Feckenham. [Stevens's Append. p. 138.]

unanimously elected their next Abbot. On the Palm Sunday following he received his confirmation at Avignon, from Clement VI. Returning home, he was received with great joy and reverence by his Convent, and was installed at Evesham on Whitfunday, 1345. He also had been a monk of this house, and was, says Dugdale, “a very honourable, affable, pleasant man, and a facetious companion.” He enriched the society with many sacerdotal ornaments, bells, vestments, and other necessities: improved the lands, and consequently the rents of the Monastery; and obtained leave from pope Urban V. that his successors might be consecrated by whatever English bishop they should chuse. He died June 13, 1367, after a long and grievous illness; and was, by Lewes bishop of Hereford, buried in the body of Evesham church, under a marble slab just before St. Egwin’s altar.

XLVI. John de Ombreslye, or Ombersley, a monk of Evesham, succeeded; being elected to the abbacy on July 4, in the same year. By virtue of the privilege obtained by his predecessor, he was consecrated by the bishop of Lincoln at Banbury, in the following month of August; and in the same month was installed at Evesham. Little more is recorded of this Abbot* than that he presided about twelve years, and dying October 30, 1379, was buried also in the Abbey church.

XLVII. Roger Zatton,† a monk and sacrist of this house, succeeded with the unanimous consent of the whole fraternity. He was elected Abbot November 20, 1379, and afterward consecrated at London by the bishop of Lincoln. His installation, at Evesham, took place on the Christmas-eve following. He was a very pious and worthy man. In his time the archbishop ‡

F 2

claimed

* He is however said [Stevens’s Append. p. 139.] to have increased the revenue of the Convent very considerably. — Dr. Nash also observes, that he “left behind him the character of a respectable, affable, and chearful man.” — Where the Doctor obtained these minute particulars of his behaviour I do not know, unless they were borrowed from what Dugdale says of his predecessor.

† Called Zitts in Stevens, and Zotton in Talbot’s MS.

‡ William Courteney, archbishop of Canterbury. This Abbot also appointed the feast of the Holy Trinity to be kept as one of the principal festivals. On that day each monk was to have one capon, and one quart of wine; the prior two capons, with an half flagon of wine; and the Abbot
three

claimed a right of visiting this house, which this Abbot was at much expence and great pains to oppose. He put an end likewise to a dispute that had long subsisted between the monks of this house and the earl of Warwick. By these means he contracted some debts on his own account, and one of three hundred and sixty pounds on account of the Convent. At this period it is known the number of monks did not exceed thirty-eight. He died November 24, 1418, the fifth year of Henry V. and was likewise buried in Evesham church.

XLVIII. Richard de Bromsgrove, infirmarer of this Convent, succeeded him on the 6th of December following. He was consecrated, in his own church at Bengworth, by the bishop of Bangor, then chancellor of Oxford, and installed on the ensuing Christmas-day. It was in this Abbot's government that a singular event happened, which, as it will shew the licentiousness of the age, then probably inflamed by the long absence of the king, I will insert from a Latin paper in Dr. Nash's Appendix to his account of this Abbey.

In Trinity term, and in the tenth year of Henry V. that king being still in Normandy, Richard Bremesgrouve, the then Abbot of Evesham, in person, exhibited a bill before the council at Westminster, heavily complaining against Henry Lench de Doredale; and shewing that the said Henry Lench, with a strong armed band, had cut down trees at Ombresley belonging to the aforesaid Abbot to the value of an hundred shillings and upwards, and entirely carried them off.—Had entered his free warren there, and caught and taken away many hares, rabbits, partridges, and pheasants; and had so grievously reproached and threatened one John Brewer, the miller of the Abbot aforesaid, that the said John Brewer, his men, and the rest of the tenants there, could not go about their ordinary business through fear for their lives.— That he had broken the mill belonging to the aforesaid Abbot, and, with an hatchet, had entirely demolished the great wheel of the said mill; had pulled up the flood-gates,

three capons, and a whole flagon. He also incurred a debt of three hundred and sixty pounds by sustaining a suit at law against one Thomas Bredet, knight, and Nicholas his son, which at length he gained; but after great expences in sending over messengers to the king and the nobility, who were then in Normandy. [Stevens's Appen. p. 139.]

gates, and, cutting them in small pieces, [*in parvis pecibus*] had thrown them into the water.

The Abbot's complaint was heard, and the mischievous Henry de Doredale was, by order of the council, to be arrested and brought before them. Receiving however timely notice of their design, Henry took care to convey himself out of their knowledge. The affair was afterwards compromised, on the arbitration of Philip Morgan, bishop of Worcester, John Beauchamp, lord of Bergevenny, and other respectable persons. Henry de Doredale was completely to repair the mill at his own expence; to ask the Abbot's pardon upon his knees, in which posture he should continue till the Abbot raised him up; and lastly, to make oath that he would not ever after do, or procure to be done, any mischief or damage whatever to the Abbot or his tenants.

A letter is still extant which was written on this occasion by Leyot, the chancellor, to the Abbot. It is a good specimen of the style and extraordinary mode of spelling at that period, and, as such, may deserve perusal.

Reverent fader and lord,

I recomaunde me to youre goode ant bountenouse fadrehede yn the trewyfte wife, desiryng ever the welfare ant the felicite of youre reverent fadrehede as of myself, preying you lowly that my homly wrytyng yn no wyse displese that gentil and trewe herte that God has set in you. For as I dar, I youre trewe sèrvant by my trowth while I lyve, compleyne me that yee liste not lete me yn the noumbre of youre other sèrvants be privey to siche matiers as my povertnesse might doo any maner of pleisyr to youre goode ant bountenouse lordship. For be my trouthe I will while I lyve both by lawful menys and awful, be youre trewe man to the utterance of my powere agayns alle youre adversaries, where some ever they dwelle, or what condicion that thai be of; outcepte siche persones the wiche I wel not yee of youre wifdaim wil not offend yn no wife. Revent fadre and lord, I come out of the forest of Dene, the whyche is my lordes lordship, on Monday last to Worcester; ant the Wolashull ant Wode wyth other diverse gentilles told me muches of the proceffe of the misfrewle of Brace's sone in lawe to you wart,
ant

ant howe he kepte not his day, and so yee were vexed in voide bycause of hys nonn apperance; the whiche is little joy of me be my trouthe. Bute myn owne good lord then hyth wel yn youre hert that yf yee, or any of youre tenaunts, or the leste child toward yow, suffre eny wrong other yn body, good, or catell, bote yffe it be fore revenkyft bothe lawfully and awfully as the cause requirith, blame youre selfe ant no man elles. For, blest mot God be of his mercy, ye be as well endofid with lordships ant frenlihode, ant service of other pore men, as any lord of youre estate in this reme. Ant for the effectual execucion of this matier, for Gode's love I youre servaunt as I dar require you that yee spare not nothur the labour of my persone ant of alle my frendes ant the expences of my goods: preying yow of youre good ant faitfull lordship that yee list by the berer of this yn this matier commaunde me youre will with alle youre othur pleisirs. Ant yn the accomplishment of theym I shall be no gret sleper by my trouthe. Ant I biseche Almighty God of his endless mercy give you evir as wel to fare as ever farde Cristene creature. Wryten in youre awyn house at Hinctone, yn the whiche I trift yn God hastely to se yow, the 17 day of June.

Your trewe servaunt by my trouthe,

RICHARD LEYOT.

Richard de Bromesgrove* presided seventeen years, and dying May 10, 1435, was buried in St. Mary's chapel, near the steps ascending to the altar.

XLIX. John Wickwan,† or Wickwane, before prior, succeeded; of whom nothing memorable is told, but that he was elected Abbot in January, 1436, and on the following St. Thomas's day was consecrated by the bishop of Bath, at Dangerfswold. After a long abbacy and much infirmity, he died
in

* Some farther regulations relative to the good fare of the monks were made by Richard de Bromesgrove. He ordained that on the day of Pentecost each monk, whether present or absent, should be allowed twenty pence, one capon, and one quart of wine;—the prior three shillings and four pence, two capons, and two quarts of wine.—The Abbot's fare we may guess at by the former regulation. [Stevens's Append. p. 139.]

† Called Sir John Wickwan in Talbot's MS.

in the year 1460. He was buried in St. Mary's chapel, before the image of St. Katharine.* To him succeeded

L. Richard Pembroke, S. T. P. or professor of divinity ; who was elected March 3, 1460 ; consecrated by the bishop of Hereford ; and died March 7, 1467 : the seventh year of Edward IV.

LI. Richard Hawkbury, before prior, now was elected Abbot, and after consecration by the bishop of Lincoln, was installed at Evesham on August 6, 1467. One circumstance rather memorable is by some authors related of this Abbot : — that he stood godfather to Richard, son of George, duke of Clarence, born in the Monastery at Tewkesbury, in the year 1476. But “ this,” says Stevens, “ I cannot but believe to be a mistake.” † He gives however no reasons for his incredulity. What is more certain is, that about this time the Monastery was almost overwhelmed by the number of noble visitants it entertained, and who seemed to quarter themselves upon the poor monks with little ceremony. In unquiet times these houses were, in fact, the best and safest of inns. A debt of one thousand marks was incurred by the Convent in providing for their reception. This Abbot presided ten years, and died April 6, 1477 : the seventeenth year of Edward IV.

LII. William Upton, a monk of Evesham, and prior of Alcester, was next elected, on April 18 ; was consecrated by the bishop of Beriton, in the chapel of the rectory of St. Christopher's, in London, on May 6 ; and installed on the 10th following. He presided only five years : but notwithstanding found means, in that time, to pay off the debt of a thousand marks contracted by his predecessor. Dying on the 11th of August, 1483, he was buried in the Abbey church, between the baptistery and the altar. He was succeeded by

LIII. John

* Wickwane increased the Abbey rents to the additional yearly value of nine pounds eleven shillings. He also ordered the celebration of the Epiphany in a much more solemn manner than it had hitherto been kept. [Stevens's Append.]

† Supplement, vol. 1. p. 460.

LIII. John Norton, prior of the cloister, on the 4th of September, 1483: the first year of Richard III. This Abbot first instituted the feast of the visitation of St. Mary to be yearly celebrated. He also ordered that, on the day of his own anniversary, each brother should have twenty pence; and among them one deer, from the deer-park at Offenham, which he enlarged for that purpose. He also (a comfortable consideration!) laid in a fresh stock of wine for the Abbot's cellar. On the vigil of the feast of St. Mary which he had appointed, he, (as he earnestly desired,*) finished his life, in the year 1491. He was buried just before the ascent of the steps to the altar of Jesus.

LIV. Thomas Newbold, cellarer of the Convent, was then elected Abbot, on July 18, 1491: the seventh year of Henry VII. He was consecrated by the bishop of Hereford, and installed on September 10 ensuing. After presiding above two and twenty years, he died a sudden death on the night of the 6th of December, 1513, and was buried in the church, at the head of his predecessor's grave.

LV. Clement Lichfield,† before prior, and a man who cannot be mentioned without emotions of pity and reverence, was made Abbot of Evesham on December 28, 1513. He received consecration, by the bishop of Ascalon, at his own manor-house at Offenham. Both the learning and virtues of this man were admirable. He was a munificent patron to his Convent, and laid out much money in repairing old buildings and erecting new ones. He adorned the choir with much elegance and splendor; built a very handsome tower in the cemetery; (which still remains entire, and of which a description will hereafter be given;) and added two chapels of extraordinary beauty, one to St. Lawrence's church, and the other to the church of All Saints. — Many heavy pecuniary burdens were laid on him by Henry and his ministers; in pursuance probably of the plan, about this time adopted, of oppressing these foundations in every possible manner. He paid one hundred
and

* Talbot's MS.

† *Tichfield*, in Stevens; but this is probably a blunder of the press.



Engraved by L.R. from an Original Drawing by J.W. Osborne

Published by J. Agg & Co. Edinburgh

ABBOT'S TOWER.

To EDWARD RUDGE Esq^r the Deputy of the Manor and Monastery of Evesham This Plate is humbly dedicated by his most humble Servant John Agg.

and fixty pounds to the king as usual for a free election ; one hundred pounds to Wolsey, who demanded this sum without assigning any reason. He lent five hundred marks to the king, which, not being repaid to him, he wisely converted into a gift. He paid fifty marks to the king for fifths ; the same sum for a premunire ; fifty pounds to Wolsey for his visitation, with which he doubtless would willingly have dispensed ; twenty pounds to Wolsey, at another time, for his protection ; besides several fees to the servants of the king and the cardinal. One whole year he was compelled to maintain twenty-four of the king's servants daily at his table, and to provide sustenance for their horses. He continued Abbot till near the dissolution ; and then, not chusing to surrender his Abbey to the king, was, by the vile arts and low devices of Cromwell, obliged to resign his pastoral office to

LVI. Philip Hawford,* *alias* Ballard, a young monk of Evesham ; who was, in the year 1539, created Abbot for the sole purpose of surrendering the Abbey. This he did on November 17, in the same year. — The grief and indignation of poor Lichfield, who survived this catastrophe but a short time, may easily be imagined. It may, without exaggeration, be supposed to have broken his heart. He died at, or near Evesham, and was buried at the entrance into his own chapel, in the church of All Saints ; where there is still to be seen a large blue slab which protected his remains, but of which the inscription is now entirely defaced. The following was put up, in his life-time, in a window of the same church.

Orate pro anima Clementis Lychfeld sacerdotis : cujus tempore Turris Eveshamiæ ædificata est.

This inscription also has long since disappeared, with the rest of the painted glass.

The Abbey church, where doubtless he would otherwise have been interred,

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* I have, at this time, in my possession an indenture made between this Hawford, when Abbot, and one John Aldington, of Middle-Littleton. The seal to it is of dark brown wax, very hard, and is almost entire.

tered, being too large for parochial use, was demolished immediately on the surrender. This and the whole site of the Abbey was, by Henry, granted to Sir Philip Hobby, who lost no time in securing the profits of his bargain. The tower alone was saved at the intercession of the townsmen, who, it is not unlikely, had contributed liberally toward its erection. It was purchased, for their own uses, at the time when all the other stately buildings fell under the axe and the hammer. As for the scoundrel Hawford* he was, for his dirty services, rewarded with a pension of two hundred and forty pounds per annum; and afterward, (in the year 1553,) with the deanery of Worcester: probably in lieu of the pension. He also died in the year 1557.†

These anecdotes of a few obscure and sequestered monks, though extracted with some labour from various writers, will, I doubt not, appear sufficiently dry and uninteresting to many readers. A catalogue of such useless, and, in general, slothful beings, will not certainly much interest an age that boasts of so much superior information and activity. But it is *the world, in miniature*. Materials are not, it is true, in the present case so far indulged us as to present them to the public eye in this extended view; but there is good reason to suppose that if all the intrigues of our conventual conclave,—all their differences, secessions, parties, and plottings, could be at this time fully and faithfully related, the narration of them would compose as interesting and useful a work as any portion of history now extant.

Among these Abbots the fate of poor Lichfield must appear truly pitiable to every reader. After having many years enjoyed his dignity in peace and affluence;—after having endowed his Monastery with many elegant ornaments

* “We see here,” says the honest and plain-speaking Stevens, “that men of conscience and courage were, by the vilest arts, removed from their Abbies; and such wretches as this Hawford, or Ballard, put into their places, that they, induced by large pensions and liberty to live lewdly, might basely surrender up their Monasteries.” To which he might have added,—and make it seem a meritorious action for the king to seize their possessions.

† The exact number of monks at the dissolution is not known. But we find that in the year 1553, (the first of Mary,) there were twenty-four of them to be provided for; among whom was J. Feckenham, dean of St. Paul’s, ten pounds. [Dr. Nash, vol. 1. p. 401.]

ments and useful additions ;—to live to see the total demolition of all was more than human philosophy can commonly bear. From long residence and habitual veneration, every step and angle of his Convent must have been to him an object of attachment, love, and profound regret. The tombs of his venerable predecessors, and of the *sainted founder* himself, dislodged from their stations, and thrown undistinguished into heaps of rubbish, was a spectacle that must have excited the most painful sensations in every good Catholic, and which few honest and candid Protestants would, I hope, blush to admit.

That the vilest arts were employed to make this worthy man weary of his residence, and even of his existence, we have no reason to doubt ; as the paltry devices of Henry and his ministers* are now well known. Neither is it probable, as Lichfield's honour and conscience were superior to compromise, and he was not moreover the immediate resigner, that any support was allowed him. Poverty therefore must have been ruthlessly added to the many heavy calamities that embittered his old age.

When on any occasion reformation is *really* wanted, it must, I suppose, always be the general sense that it is so. That it was in some degree requisite here, no one can doubt ; nor can we, from the testimony of history, hesitate to say that the general voice was for it. To endeavour therefore to heighten the odium against the monastics by gross misrepresentation, or to render them uneasy in their station by every low contrivance, seems to have been a very injudicious and hateful policy. Injudicious because certainly not the best or nearest way of arriving at the *proposed end* :—and hateful on account of the *means employed*. But it was (what we ought still more to deprecate,)

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* The merit of these was certainly due to Cromwell. Henry himself was too sincere and fearless a tyrant to invent or descend to practise such devices. The other was a sly, dark, and designing, yet, I believe, to his master faithful and zealous, character. The stratagems used at Godstowe were notorious, even at the time. The abbess of that nunnery had an infamous fellow of the name of Dr. London (afterwards pilloried) quartered upon her, to seduce her nuns from their obedience, and make her house intolerable to her. The poor woman, in a transport of grief and vexation, wrote a very pathetic letter to the king, which Stevens has preserved in his Appendix to Dugdale. [Vol. I. p. 537.]

cate,) a most destructive *precedent*, which may hereafter be farther perverted to disunite the bonds of *general* society.

“ The object of these reformers however was good.” This in the present case must, I believe, be granted. Yet to obtain this *good*, every *evil* means was pursued ; — and there cannot be found a maxim more pernicious to the welfare of mankind, than that the *end will justify the means employed to gain it*. Concerning the former, we are liable to be wretchedly mistaken : — the latter are often uselessly employed, and thus become mere *mischiefs for its own sake*.* In short, — the question put by St. Paul, whom those who may happen to have read him will still allow to have been no common reasoner, — “ shall we do evil that good may ensue ? ” — may safely and universally be answered as he has answered it, — “ No, GOD FORBID.”

* Madame de Sillery Brulart (the ci-devant countess de Genlis) has, in a late work, an excellent passage on this topic. She however applies it to the conduct of the late unhappy king of France, which she supposes was insincere and fallacious ; but surely it may be turned with much greater force and effect against a party whose conduct has ever been a tissue of fraud, perjury, cruelty, and deception. “ If,” says she, “ we suppose it allowable to commit a *crime* from the *hope* or even with the *certainty*, of effecting a *good*, we overturn all the support of morality ; we substitute arbitrary inventions for eternal principles ; circumstances alone will determine the merit or the infamy of actions ; and *imposture*, *revenge*, and *ferocity* will often impudently claim the recompence of virtue.” [Lessons of a Governess to her Pupils.]

C H A P. III.

REVENUE AND ENDOWMENT OF EVESHAM ABBEY—VALUE SOON
AFTER THE CONQUEST AND AT THE DISSOLUTION OF
MONASTERIES.

IN the attempt to investigate the Revenue of a foundation so long since dissolved, some degree of intricacy and confusion will probably be expected by the reader; nor will he suffer any considerable disappointment. Little more, in fact, can now be done than to detail, from charters and various other sources, the separate fragments of Revenue, and afterwards to put them together in the clearest and most luminous method we are able.

With the extent of the original Endowment, and with the names of those villages that it comprehended, the reader has already been made acquainted. Domesday record will be our next, and most authentic intelligencer. From that minute and extensive survey, we shall inform ourselves what new possessions this Abbey had acquired, in a course of almost four hundred years; as well as of the exact value, at that period, of all its acquisitions. It will, moreover, serve as a kind of text-book on which many notes and observations, and to which many additions will afterwards be made. For the sake of the English reader a translation of that part which relates to Evesham will be given; to which as the genuine antiquary will attribute some difficulty, he will, of course, shew proportionable indulgence. But first, it may be proper to notice a short list of benefactors to this Monastery, preserved by Dugdale,* most of whose donations took place prior to the conquest.

I. King

* Ex Registro quodam Abbathiæ de Evesham, per Rob. Glover, *Somerſet Heraldum, deſumpta.*

I. King *Ethelred*, son of *Penda* king of the Mercians, was (as we have already seen,) the first and principal benefactor; as he furnished *Egwin* with the spot of ground called *Ethomme*, or *Haum*, on which the Abbey was built. This was acquired as far back as the year 701. The same king gave afterwards the castle of *Chadbury*, and the ancient monastery of *Stratford*; for which *Egwin*, in the year 703, exchanged that of *Fladbury*. This king, about the year 705, resigned his crown and became a monk of *Bardney*: at which place he was buried. He reigned thirty years over *Mercia*, and lived thirteen more after taking the vow.

II. *Offa*, king of the East Angles, son of *Sighere*, king of the same people, in the year 703, gave *Offenham*:—a place which, to this day, bears his name. He afterwards, by the advice of *Kenefwith*, daughter of *Penda* and sister to *Ethelred*, a lady whom he wished to espouse, but certainly took an odd method of doing so, went to Rome with *Kenred* and *Egwin*, where he became a monk and died in 710. This place is noticed in *Domesday*, and the value distinctly pointed out.

III. *Ethelward*, or *Aylward*, under-governor of the *Wiccians*, gave to this Convent *Ombresley*, in the year 706. This acquisition is also noticed, and its exact value settled in *Domesday* record.

IV. *Aylric*, son of *Ofhere*,* king, gave *Childes-Wykwane*, in the same year. If this is the same place with that called *Wiquene* in the above register, (which there is every reason to suppose,) particulars concerning this estate likewise may there be found.

V. *Kenred*, king of the Mercians, son of *Wolfere*, gave *Hampton*, (&c.) in 708. For this also *Domesday* may be consulted.

VI. *Ceolred*,

* There is in this list the same confusion and variety of spelling in the names of persons that so perplexes every other part of early history. I follow Dugdale closely in those names, for evident reasons. But this *Ofherus*, or *Ofhere*, seems to have been governor or earl of Worcestershire, rather than king. He is by Dugdale in another work called *Ofric*, earl of Worcestershire. [Dugdale's Baron. vol. 1. p. 2.]

VI. *Ceolred*, king of the Mercians, the son of *Ethelred*, the original benefactor, (but not, it seems, by his queen *Oftritha*,) gave *Ragley*, (&c.) in the year 711. — This place is not specified as a part of the *Evesham* possessions in the survey, which, in this place, seems to break off abruptly.

VII. *Ethelbald*, king of the Mercians, (called otherwife *Ethelhard*,) the son of *Alwy*, or *Elfwy*, and the cousin of *Ceolred*, gave *Haſtone*, in 716. — There is no mention of this among the possessions of this foundation in Domesday, nor of the following donation.

VIII. *Offa*, son of *Tunfrith*, king of the Mercians, gave *Dunnyngton*, (&c.) in 757.

IX. *Beortolph*, king of Mercia, gave *Pebwortham*, in 774. If this is the same with *Penwortham*,* or, as it is called in Domesday, *Peneverdant*, it had, before the conquest, reverted to the king.

X. *Ufa*, earl of Warwick, gave *Witlakesford* and *Little Grafton*, in the year

* This place, whether the same with *Penwortham* or not, had, before the conquest, been alienated from the Convent. There are several so curious particulars recorded of *Penwortham* and *Leyland* in Domesday, that, though not strictly consonant to my plan, I will copy them for the sake of the curious reader.

“ Rex E. tenuit *Lailand*. Ibi 1. hida, *In Lailand Hund*. et 2. carucatæ terræ. Silva 2. leuv. longa, et 1. lata, et aira Accipitrum. Ad hoc manerium pertinebant 12. carucatæ terræ, quas tenebant 12. homines liberi pro totidem maneriis. In his 6. hidæ, et 3. carucatæ terræ. Silva ibi 6. leuv. longa, et 1. quarent. lata. Homines hujus Manerii et de *Salford* non operabant per consuetudinem ad aulam regis, neque metebant in Augusto. Tantummodo unam haïam in silva faciebant, et habebant sanguinis forisfacturam, et fœminæ passæ violentiam. De aliis consuetudinibus aliorum Maneriorum erant confortes. Totum Manerium *Lailand* cum *Hund*. reddebat de firma regi 19. libras, et 18. solidos, et 2. denarios.”

“ Rex E. tenuit *Peneverdant*. Ibi 2. carucatæ terræ, et reddebant 10. denar. Modo est ibi castellum, et 2. carucatæ sunt in domino, et 6. burgenſes, et 3. radmans, et 8. villani, et 4. bovarii. Inter omnes habent 4. car. Ibi dimid. piscaria. Silva et airæ accipitrum sicut T. R. E. Valet 3. libr.”

year 973, and during the reign of king *Edgar*. — The former of these places is, in *Domesday*, called *Witelavesford*, and many particulars are given of it.

XI. *Ethelred*, king of England, the brother of St. *Edward* the Martyr, gave one manse or farm in *Stow*, [*Stowya*,] near *Malgarefbury*, in the year 987. — This donation is probably comprehended in *Domesday* within the article *Malgarefberia*.

XII. *Canute*, king of all England, gave, in the year 1018, the lordship of *Badby* and *Newnham*. — This had, it is likely, passed into other hands, or been exchanged for other possessions, before the survey was taken; though, in later time, we again find it among the undoubted acquisitions of this Abbey.

The donations that follow seem, from the comparatively modern names of the donors, to have been made after the conquest, but are inserted here not to leave the list incomplete.

Warin Bushell gave the church of *Penwortham*; with the tythes, &c.

Richard Bushell, his son, gave the church at *Leylond*, &c.

Albert Bushell, son of *Richard*, gave various lands in *Longeton*, *Ekeston*, *Lelande*, and *Meoles*.

Robert Bushell gave various estates at *Penwortham*.

Galfrid Bushell, his son, gave divers estates in *Longetone*.*

For other donations before the conquest, I refer the reader to the charters, and titles of charters, collected in the Appendix. Many of these had certainly
been

* There is a long list of inferior benefactors, to the number of one hundred and thirty-seven, but without their donations specified, to be found in *Stevens*. [Append. p. 145.] It was drawn up in the years 1444, and 1450, by *Thomas Wynchecombe*, precentor to this Monastery.

been lost or exchanged, as was the case of *Badby* and *Newham*, or *Newnham*, in Northamptonshire, *before* that period. This we find however, from subsequent records, was afterwards recovered to the Monastery. But mention is made in these of some other possessions, and among them of five manes or farms granted by *Edwy*, in the *Isle of Wight*, which seem to have been speedily and irrecoverably lost.

Translation of that part of Domesday-Book which
respects *Evesham Abbey*. [p. 175.]

WORCESTERSHIRE.

IN Evesham,* where the Abbey is situated, there are, and always were, three hides of free land.

H

There

* By the kind assistance of Mr. Ayscough, librarian to the British Museum, I am enabled to give some account of the chief tenants at the places here mentioned. These notices are copied from *Vespasian B. XXIV.* among the *Cotton MSS.* They seem to have been written about the time of Abbot *Randulf*:—of course between the years 1213, and 1229. The list of the *Evesham* tenants occupies nine folio pages of the MS. and is therefore too long for insertion; but the names and tenures of these tenants at other places will frequently accompany the survey.—The method usually observed in the MS. is to give, first the charters belonging to each place; then the boundaries in Saxon; and lastly the names of tenants with their different tenures. Though this plan sometimes seems to have been neglected, and a jumble of different places introduced under the same head, it has nevertheless been thought proper in these extracts closely to follow the MS. in order to prevent much uncertainty, and probably some mistakes, in attempting now to identify the names of places.

There are in the demefne three carucates* of land, and twenty-seven bordarers doing service to the Abbey-court; and these have, among them, four car. There is also a mill, value thirty shillings; and twenty acres of meadow land. The tax, arising from inhabitants there, is twenty shillings. In the time of king Edward this estate was worth sixty shillings; afterwards four pounds; and at this time one hundred and ten shillings.

In *Fisseberge* hundred, the church of *Evesham* possesses† sixty-five hides of land. Of these hides twelve are free. In that hundred lie twenty hides of *Doddentreu*, and fifteen of *Wirecestre* * * * *. They complete the hundred.‡

This Abbey possesses *Lenchwic*§.—There is one hide which is free land and
always

* The precise distinction between a *hide* and a *carucate* of land is, I believe, still undetermined; —“*adhuc sub judice*.” — I will therefore offer no remarks myself. Concerning the *bordarii*, or *bordarers*, there is likewise still some obscurity. I apprehend them to have been cottagers under obligation to furnish eggs, poultry, and other little articles of the same kind, for the lord's table. The *villani*, or *villans*, were, I suppose, tenants of a higher rank.

† In the original *tenet* or *holds*; as all land was then supposed to be *held* of the king. But the difference of times would make this phrase seem applicable only to *tenants*. It is therefore altered to the word *has*, or *possesses*.

‡ In *hundredo de Filleberga*, [idem plane cum *Fisseberge*,] in Lxv. hidis habet ecclesia de *Evesham* tales libertates quod neque Vicecomes, nec aliqua potens persona, post Regem, potest ibi aliquam violentiam facere; nec aliquid percipere nec accipere, nisi per Abbatem illius loci. Habet etiam prefata ecclesia pleniter suam *sacam* et *socam*, *tol* et *theam*, et quod nullus Abbas de illis terris facere potest *teinland*, neque potest dare in hereditatem alicui, nisi in die vitæ suæ, et postea revertatur ad hoc quod alius Abbas secundum domum voluerit. Et quod nullus Abbas potest dare *decimam* neque *chircsed* alicui homini, neque aliquis homo potest retinere: quia omnes illæ terræ de illis Lxv. hidis fuerunt datæ et sanctificatæ ad opus ecclesiæ, et ad opus servorum Dei. [Cotton. MS. Vesp. B. xxiv.]

§ In *Lenewic* quinque sunt virgæ Bovariorum: unaquaque dedet invenire ij. homines ad carr. per totum annum, et ad *Widoc* iiij. homines in ebdomada, et ad fenum colligendum quousque collectum fuerit, et in autumnus v. dies in ebdomada; et debent portare farruginem a festo S. Michaelis usque ad festum S. Martini.

always has been so, and in *Nortune** there are seven hides. In the demesne are five carucates, and thirteen villans, and eleven bordarers, and one Norman. Among them all they have eleven car. — There are also ten servants, and two mills, value twenty-two shillings and six-pence, and which furnish

H 2

two

Bercharius tenet v. acras pro custodia ovium, et quietus est ab omni servitio.

Porcarius tenet vj. acras, et est quietus ab omni servitio si porcos habuit, et si non.

Quinque sunt Cotlandiæ, et unaquaque debet operari in ebdomada per ij. dies, et in autumno usque ad festum S. Martini per iij. et auxilium et tol. et pafn. non chirset; et tota decima in blado, in lino, et in agnis, Domini est.

Faber habet dim. virg. et est quietus ab omni servitio pro ferramentis, et decimam propriam habet.

Bedellus tenet vj. acras, et est quietus ab omni servitio, et habet decimam suam.

David tenet i. virg. pro iij. et tenet masagium suum, nisi unus bovarius solebat manere; et dat pro illo masagio annuatim ij. fol. Et in *Burme*, in *Middleles* furlang, pro medietate quam *Will. de Twiford* alio anno ij. fol.

Et de molendino de *Chedelesley* annuatim xxv. fol. et xl. stiches de anguillis.

Forestarius tenet iiij. acras cum masagio, et quietus est ab omni servitio: et Dominus debet ei dare annuatim iij. siffuls de blado pro servitio suo, et unam acram.

Decem sunt virgæ apud *Lenewic*. Si operentur, per totam ebdomadam debent operari preter sabbatum, et si die sabbati operantur, reddatur eis. Die dominico summagiant, et in autumno unaquaque virga debet invenire in ebdomada ij. homines preter solitum, et aux. et tol. et pafn. non chirset, et wudeselver; non hidwude, non fissepeni. Et si censentur, iiij. pro virga; et aux. et tol. et pafn. et geld. et servitium Regis. Et si herciantur, per i. diem; alia die non est quietus, et sic de summagio.

Tota decima ejusdem Villæ in blado, in lino, in agnis, et in ceteris, Domini est.

* In *Nortona* *Willielmus Gudmund* tenet dim. hidam. Pro. i. virga vadit ad Comitatum et Hundr. et pro alia facit servitium Regis et geldat et dat decimam suam in blado, lino, et agnis, Domino.

Rondulfus

two thousand eels. There are twelve acres of meadow land. — In king Edward's time this was worth seven pounds; afterwards one hundred and ten shillings; and now seven pounds again.

In

Rondulfus tenet ij. virgas et dim. virgam et xij. acras: pro dim. virga debet xvij. den. Pro dim. hida debet ire ad Comitatum et Hundr. et debet ire cum Monachis per totam Angliam; et in tempore Regis Willielmi solebat operari et omnes consuetudines facere. Sed precibus *Elurici* prioris *Evesham* factus fuit liber et injuste. Pro dim. virg. quæ mater *Randulfi* tenuit, nullum servitium debet, nec pro xij. acris predictis: et hec omnia injuste facta sunt pretio et precibus Monachorum de *Evesham* intervenientibus. Et pro predicta dim. hida et pro dim. virga debet servitium Regis et geldum, et debet arare et metere. *Rond.* de jure dare debet, si censaret, viij. fol. et omnes consuetudines.

Walterus tenet ij. virgas pro vj. fol. et solebat dare viij. fol. et dat auxilium et arat (sic) pæ, et metit, et geldat, et servitium Regis. Abbas *Mauritius* dedit neptem suam predecessori *Walterii* et abstulit opus terræ illius injuste; et hoc est in voluntate Abbatis.

Johannes tenet i. virg. pro ij. fol. et servitium Regis et est in voluntate Abbatis, sive ad opus sive ad censum. Abbas *Adam* concessit ei injuste pro ij. fol.

XXIX. Sunt virgæ apud *Norton*. Si operentur, per totam ebdomadam debet operari præter sabbatum, et die dominico debet fumagium facere, et dies sabbati reddatur eis, si aliquid fecerint; et auxilium et tolnum et pafn. et chirset et geldum et servitium Regis; et si herciantur, alia di herciat vel operetur, et sic de fumagio, et wudelfelver, et hidwud, et fissepeni; et unaquaque caruca arare debet die Lunæ per septimanam, a festo S. Michaelis usque ad Pascha. Et in estate benarth, et in autumno ij. homines de (sic) ces de virga per septimanam.

Et si censarent, iiij. fol. pro virga, et aux. et tol. et pafn. et geld. et servitium Regis; et decima sua in blado, in lino, in agnis, Domini est. Debent chirset, et arare, et metere, et vineam fodere, et colligere, et fumag. et falcare.

Osebertus vj. acras pro ij. fol. et debet metere, et fenum colligere, et auxilium dare, et servitium Regis.

Ecclesia tenet dim. hid. et arat, et dat Sacristæ x. fol. et masagium suum; et i. virgam tenet de dominio Dni Abbatis, et aliam virgam de collectore rusticorum.

Tota decima ejusdem Villæ in blado, in lino, in agnis, et in ceteris, Dni est.

In *Oleberge** are twelve acres of land, and also two swineherds, and one furlong† of woodland. It is worth five shillings.

This Abbey has also *Offenham*.‡ There is one hide of free land, and at *Liteltune* are six hides, and six at *Bradfortune*. In the demesne are three carucates,

* The same place I presume with that called *Ulbeory* in the founder's charter. [See Appendix.] The present appellation is *Oldborough*.

† *Leuva*, a league properly, but used very indefinitely as a measure of land. I have here supposed it a furlong.

‡ *Offenham* was given by king *Offa*, in 703. See the charter No. I. in the Appendix, and the list of benefactors. Both *Littleton* and *Bradferdon* were also among the founder's acquisitions, as were the preceding places *Lenchwic* and *Norton*.

In *Huffenham* sunt quatuor virgæ Bovariorum. Dim. virga debet invenire i. nominem per totum annum ad carr. et ad Wiedoc, et ad fenum, et ad bladum colligendum. In una ebdomada, debet operari per ij. dies, et in alia per iij. dies; et debet portare farruginem apud *Evesham*, et est quietus ab omni servitio, et habet decimam suam. Si censaretur, ij. fol. et omnes consuetudines debitos. (sic)

Sex sunt Cotlandæ et unaquaque debet operari per ij. dies, in ebdomada, et in autumnno per iij. dies, et decima sua Domini est; et si censaretur, deberet dare xij. den. et aux. et tol. et pafnagium, non chirchefet.

Faber tenet dim. virg. et debet parare ferramenta curiæ, et quietus est ab omni servitio.

Berchierus vel Porcarius tenet vj. acras, et quietus est ab omni servitio, si sint oves et porci. Si non * * * * *

Paganus Travers tenet v. virgas, et geldat pro v. virgis.

Galfridus Withelard tenet iij. virgas: pro duabus dat x. fol. pro tertia servitium Regis, et pro tribus geldat Regi.

Paganus fil. Henrici tenet vij. virgas, et geldat pro iij. virgis.

Augustinus tenet i. hidam, et geldat pro hida.

Robertus tenet i. virgam pro iij. fol. et aux. et tol. et pafn. et est in voluntate Dni Abbatis.

Johannes tenet i. virgam pro iij. fol. et auxilium et alias consuetudines cum vicinis facere.

Radulfus Dispensator iij. virgas, et facit servitium Regis.

XXvij. Virgæ

cates, and twenty-five villans with seven car. and two radmen,* and two Normans. Each of these has one car. — There are also twenty bordarers, and twenty acres of meadow land, and a mill of twelve shillings and sixpence.

There are oxen to one car. but they draw stone to the Abbey. — In the time of king Edward and afterwards, it was worth eight pounds; now six pounds and ten shillings.

To this manor belongs one Berewic, *Aldington*.† There is one hide of free land belonging to the church, and in the demesne are two carucates, and

XXvij. Virgæ et dim. Si operantur, per totam ebdomadam debent operari preter sabbatum, et die dominica debent sumagiare et reddatur eis die sabbati si operentur, et aux. et toln. et pafn. non chicheset; et unaquaque caruca a festo S. Michaelis usque ad Pascha debet arare per 1. diem in ebdomada, et grefarthe scil. 1. acram; et si censarentur iiij. et aux. et toln. et pafn. non chirchefet.

Vj. Virgæ in *Littleton*. Si operantur, debent chirchefet. Et censantes debent metere, arare, falcare, vineam fodere, et colligere. Operantes debent wudesfelver; non hidwude, non chirfet, non fissepen. Operantes vj. de *Littleton* debent wudesfelver, hidwude, fissepen.

Ricardus xij. den. *Hugo Jurtin* iij. fol. et vj. den. *Eluredus Ethewi* xij. den. *Walterus molendinarius* xij. den. *Edwine* vj. den. *Rogerus* vj. den. *Ricardus Eme* xij. den. *Radulfus* xij. den. *Albretha* xij. den. *Robertus Clericus* vj. den.

Decima in blado, in lino, in agnis, et ceteris fecibus, Domini est.

Willielmus Bern Lj. acras et molendinum pro x. fol. et *Foke Milne* pro dim. marca, et est quietus ab omni servitio.

Ecclesia habet 1. virgatam, et dat sacristæ iij. fol.

Tota decima ejusdem Villæ in blado, in lino, et in agnis, et in ceteris, Domini est.

* *Radmanni*, and sometimes *Radmans*. I scarcely know how to translate this word, nor am I acquainted with its precise meaning. A gentleman of eminence in the law, at *Evesham*, informs me that, in *Coke's Institutes*, it implies a *free tenant* with the right of *focage*.

† One of the first acquired estates; as were also *Badsey* and *Wickamford*, here called *Wigene*, and *Huniburne*.

and five bordarers with one car. There are also four servants, and a mill, value five shillings. It was, and still is, worth forty shillings. *

The Abbey has *Wiquene*.† There are three hides of free land, and at
Bradfortune

* In *Aldintona* Hugo fil. Roberti tenet x. virgatas terr. et debet servitium Regis pro v. vergatis; et vadit ad comitatum, et ad hundredum, et gelda cum aliis.

Rond. de Kostun tenet xij. virg. apud *Bretfert*. et debet servitium Regis, et geldat pro 1. hida et dim. hida, et vadit ad comitatum et ad hundred.

Dimidia hida Bovariorum. Dim. virga debet operari in autumnno pro tribus diebus: decima est in manu propria.

Una Cotlanda debet operari per ij. dies in hieme, in autumnno per iij. dies, usque ad festum S. Martin. Si censant xij. et auxilium et pafn. et toln. et geld. et decimam Domino.

Novem sunt apud *Aldintun*. Si operantur, per totam ebdomadam debent operari preter sabbatum, est si sabbato aliquid opus fecerint vel summagium, reddatur eis; et die dominico summagiant et non reddatur eis dies: et si erciant non reddatur eis dies; et aux. et pafn. et toln. et geld. non chirchefet. De virga ix. den. de wudefeller; non fissepeni, non hidwude; et unaquaque caruca die Lunæ, a festo S. Michaelis usque ad festum S. Mariæ in Martio, dimidiam acram: et unaquaque caruca in hieme j. acram, scilicet grefacram, (sic) et in estate quicquid poterit facere perque diem. Si censent, iiij. fol. et auxilium et pafn. et toln. et alias consuetudines; et debet metere per 1. diem, et arare, et falcare, et vineam fodere, et colligere, et summagium.

Tota decima in blado, in lino, in agnis, et ceteris fecibus, est Domini.

Ecclesia de *Wikewen* habet xj. travas et dimidiam de Rusticis de *Aldintona*.

XI. Virgatæ et dim. sunt apud *Bretferton* pertinentes ad *Aldinton*. Si operentur, per totam septimanam debent operari preter sabbatam, et die dominico summagiant, et si die sabbati, reddatur eis si aliquid fecerint: et si erciant, habeat diem; et si summagiant, reddatur eis; et debent wudefeller, et fissepani, et hidwude, et chirchefet, et aux. et toln, et geld. et servitium Regis, et arare a festo S. Michaelis usque ad Pascha per diem Lunæ; et unaquaque virga debet arare 1. acram de Bene. (sic) Et in estate unaquaque caruca quantum poterit; et si censentur, iiij. fol. et aux. et toln. et pafn. et chirchefet et alias consuetudines; et debet metere et arare per 1. diem; et arare, et falcare, et vineam fodere, et colligere, et sumag.

Tota decima in blado, in lino, et in agnis, et ceteris fecibus, Domini est.

† In Villa de *Wikewan*.

Wolterus Fruffelu tenet 1. hidam terræ: pro dimidia geldat, et pro alia dimidia hida vadit ad Comitatum, et in servitium Regis, et arat in estate.

Bradfortune fix hides. In the demesne are four carucates, and sixteen villans, and seven bordarers with ten car. There is also a mill, value forty pence, and ten acres of meadow land. It was, and is still, worth fix pounds.

The same Abbey has also *Badesei*.* There, in the time of king Edward, there

Jo * * * * tenet 1. virg. terr. et facit servitium Regis et deberet portare pannos cujuslibet Monachi per totam Angliam in expensa Dni Abbatis, et hec libertas est in voluntate Dni Abbatis et Cellerarii.

Robertus tenet 1. virgam pro iiij. fol. et arat cum aliis, et hoc est in voluntate Dni Abbatis.

Quatuor sunt virgæ Bovariorum. Unaqueque earum debet operari in autumpno per duos dies, et a festo S. Michaelis usque ad festum S. Martini debet unaquaque die portare furriginem apud *Evesham* ad opus Abbatis. Decima eorum in manu sua est.

Bercharius debet custodire oves si fuerint. Debet operari per duos dies in ebdomada usque ad autumpnum, et in autumno per iij. dies; et debet auxilium, et tolnum, et pasnagium.

Porcharius custodiat porcos, et debet operari per ij. dies in septimana usque ad autumpnum, et in autumno per iij. dies; et debet auxilium, et tolnum, et pasnagium.

Quatuor sunt Cotlandæ. A festo S. Martini usque ad vincula S. Petri debent operari per septimanam ij. dies, et in autumno usque ad predictum terminum iij. et debent decimas, et auxilium, et tolnum, et pasnagium.

Radulfus tenet 1. dim. virgam pro ij. fol. et auxilium, et geldat, et tolnum, et pasnagium, et chirchefet, et alias consuetudines.

In villa predicta sunt xxxij. virg. Si operantur, per totam septimanam debent operari preter sabbatem, et die dominico debent summagium facere, et si fecerint die sabbati reddatur eis de wudfelver 1x. den; prima die quadragesimæ 1. den. de fissepeni et de hidwude 1. Quadrigam, et geldat, et auxilium, et tolnum, et pasnagium, et chirchefet; et unaquaque caruca die Lunæ a festo S. Michaelis usque ad annuntiationem S. Mariæ dim. acram, et una quælibet virga 1. acram de Bene. Si censant iiij. pro virga, et chirchefet, et auxilium, et tolnum, et pasnagium; et debet metere per 1. diem, et arare, et falcare, et vineam fodere, et colligere et summagium facere; et si herciat per 1. diem, alia die sit quietus.

Tota decima in blado, in lino, in agnis, et in ceteris fecibus, Domini.

Capella habet xiiij. tuuas (sic) de proprio blado hominum, et habet dim. virgam et vj. acras quietas ab omni servitio.

* In villa de *Baddesheie* *Philippus* Senescallus habet v. virgatas et dim. Tres sunt geldantes, duæ et dimidia sunt libere: et habet molendinum quod valet 1. marcam. Sacrista de *Evesham* debet habere

there were fix hides and an half. In the demesne are two carucates, * * * * and twelve villans with eight car. There are also four fervants, and a widow-woman. It was worth fix pounds; now only three pounds and ten shillings.

This Abbey has *Liteltune*. There, in king Edward's time, were seven hides. In demesne are two carucates, and fifteen villans, and one Norman with two villans. Among them they have seven car. — There are likewise

I

three

habere decimam Senescalli in blado. *Ricardus Franceis* habet dim. hidam, et facit servitium Regis; et geldat cum aliis, et debet invenire Runcinum unum ad portandum pannos cujuslibet monachi per totam Angliam, eund in expensa Dni Abbatis.

Duæ virgæ sunt Bovariorum. Unaquaque earum debet invenire ij. homines ad carrucam per totam ebdomadam.

In autumnno debet invenire unaquaque die ebdomadæ 1. hominem in opere Domini.

In Villa illa sunt xxj. virgæ et dim. virg. Si operentur, per totam ebdomadam debent operari preter fabbatem, et die dominico debent summagium facere. Si die Sabbati operantur vel sumagiant, reddatur eis die Lunæ de wudelfelver 1x. den. in inventione Sanctæ Crucis, nativitate S. Johannis, exaltatione S. Crucis, prima die Quadragesimæ 1. den. de fissepeni, festo S. Martini 1. quadr. de ligno; scilicet hidwude, tolnum, pafnagium, chirchefet, et geld. et auxilium et carruc. Debet arare per unamquemque ebdomadam 1. dim. acram, usque ad annutiationem S. Mariæ, et 1. acram de Bene unaquaque virg. Si censant ij. et toln. et pafnag. et chirchefet; et debet metere pro 1. die in ebdomada, et arare, et falcare apud *Huniham*, et adjuvare fodiendi vineam et collegendi, et sumagium debet. Et si herciant, una die, alia die sint quieti.

Faber habet dim. virg. quietam ab omni servicio pro opere curiæ.

Walter habet Cotlandam, et operatur per ebdomadam ij. diebus, et in autumpno ij. dies, et auxilium.

Johannes similiter, et auxilium.

Wido Porcarius habet mafagium et v. acras pro custodia porcorum, et quietus est ab omni servitio; et Dominus debet ei invenire corredium suum, de termino S. Michaelis usque ad festum S. Martini in bosco.

Johannes Clericus tenet dim. virg. terr. pro xviii. den.

Tota decima Villæ tam in blado, quam in agnis, et ceteris fecibus, et in lino, Domini est, preter decimam Senescalli.

Capella habet xxi. travas de blado hominum, et habet dim. virg. terr. quietam ab omni servitio.

three fervants, and eight acres of meadow. It was worth four pounds ten shillings; now seventy shillings.

The same church possesses *Huniburne*. There were two hides and an half in the time of king Edward. — In demesne are four carucates, and a priest, and ten villans, and four bordarers with four car. Also four servants. It was worth three pounds; now four. There are eleven acres of meadow.

This church has *Ambresley*:*, this estate was anciently free † for three hides; this is affirmed by the Abbey charters. But, in the time of king Edward, there were reckoned up, woodland and cleared land together, fifteen hides, and three of these were free land.

There are in demesne five carucates, and thirty villans, and twelve bordarers, and two priests, and two radmen, and ten herdsman. Among them all these have twenty car. There, a share ‡ and an half in the fishery yields yearly two thousand eels, and there are two mills, value eight shillings, and four acres of meadow land. A wood of two furlongs, and in *Wich*§ one salt-furnace. In the time of king Edward, and afterwards, it was worth eighteen pounds; now only sixteen.||

This

* Another of *Egwin's* endowments, as was also *Hampton*.

† Meaning, I apprehend, that paying tax, or doing service for *three* hides of it, the rest was free of either.

‡ I do not understand exactly whether here is meant a *fish-pond* and the *half of another*, or the *right of fishing* in the *river*. The words are: “*Ibi piscaria et dimid reddunt 2 millia anguillarum.*”

§ Droitwich.

|| *Ambreslega* Ecclesia tenet dim. hidam quietam ab omni servicio.

Henricus presbiter tenet terram quæ fuit *Hunte*, et terram *Turberti*, & unam Coteriam quæ est inter has duas terras, de Villinagio Domini, pro viij. sol. Domus ejus est in cimiterio. Idem tenet i. pratum quod fuit *Henrici* Clerici, et terram de *Homme* pro iij. sol. Idem tenet j. moram super

This Abbey possesse*s* *Hantun*. There were five hides in the time of king Edward. In *Oswaldeſlau hundred*. In demefne are three carucates, and fifteen villans, and five bordarers, and one Norman with four bordarers. Among them all, theſe have ſeven car. There are alſo eight ſervants, and

I 2

ten

ſuper Doverdale pro vj. den. Super dim. hidam quæ adjacet eccleſiæ. Sunt vj. ruſtici. Tres apud *Northamptun* et iiij. apud *Clegehamtun*.

Idem *Henricus* habet totam decimam villæ, preter decimam de Dominio. Idem reddit x. lib. annuatim ad operationem eccleſiæ de *Eveſham*. Idem reddit annuatim Lx. fol. Abbati.

Ricardus fil. *Mauritii* tenet ij. hidas et dimid. pro feudo dim. mil. Idem tenet i. molendinum pro dim. marc. Idem habet iiij. ruſticos in *Compehamton* in *Actona*.

In *Hevedlega* habet Abbas iiij. Coterias, unaque earum debet operari in ebdomada per iiij. dies. Scil. die Lunæ, diē Mercurii, diē Veneris. Iſti debent averia ſua in ovile Domini in nocte. Iſti debent tol. paſ. aux. Iſti debent vigilare in curia Domini cum preſens fuerit. Iſti debent braciare et arare benerth. et bederipe. Si coteria predicta cenſat, debet ij. ſolidos annuatim, et predictas conſuetudines. Quatuor ſunt virge bovariorum. Iſti cuſtodiant boves et arant per v. dies Domino: die ſabbati ad opus ſuum. Preter hoc iſti debent cuſtodire latrones, ſi fuerint, in curia. Si cenſat, virgatus iiij. fol. debet annuatim, et alias conſuetudines.

Porcarius debet cuſtodire porcos, ſi fuerint; ſi non, ij. fol. et tol. et paſ. et aux. et alias conſuetudines.

Bercarius debet cuſtodire oves, ſi fuerint; ſi non ii. fol. et omnes conſuetudines.

Stephanus tenet i. bordellum pro xij. den.

Nicholaus Baſtard tenet i. bordellum, et operatur diē Lunæ in ebdomada.

Walterus cognatus Preſbiteri tenet i. terr. de dominio, et dat iiij. fol.

Randulfus tenet de bovaria i. terr. et dat v. fol. In *Wilenhale* Wudemanni *Robertus*, *Ricardus*, *Oſbertus* dant pro terr. ſua xj. fol. et dant tol. et paſ. et aux. et arant ſemel in anno et ſemel metunt.

Aluredus pro terra ſua dat ij. fol. et tol. et paſ. et aux.

In *Barlega Harding* et Vidua pro terra ſua dant xL. den. et tol. et paſ. et aux. et arant et metunt.

Robertus pro terra ſua dat vj. fol. et tol. et paſ. et aux. et arat et metit.

Oſbertus Rugge pro terra ſua dat iiij. et predictas conſuetudines.

Hugo Mac dat xxxij. den. et predictas conſuetudines.

Idem

ten acres of meadow, and a new-made vineyard, and two mills, value twenty shillings. It was worth an hundred shillings; now six pounds.*

This

Idem Hugo debet xij. den. pro 1. assarta.

Aluredus de Forda dat ij. fol. et predicta sine arura. [aratura.]

Aluredus Wisdom dat xij. den. et predict. sine arura.

Thomas Clech dat xij. den. et predictas consuetudines.

Walterus Moledinarius dat v. fol. et predict. sine arura.

In *Wulmora* viij. homines et 1. coteria quæ est intra firmam. Isti dant xxvj. fol. et predicta sine arura.

Willielmus Wudeward dat xij. den.

Osbertus et *Jordanus* viij. fol. et predicta.

Einulfus Goderale ij. et omnes consuetudines.

Ricardus fil. Aluredi xxvij. den. et omnes consuetudines sine arura.

Faber tenet terram suam pro servitio curiæ et quietus est.

Reginaldus fil. Ulfi xvij. fol. et consuetudines sine arura.

Aluredus fil. Ulfi iiij. fol. et consuetudines sine arura.

Robertus fil. Jordanis xvij. den. et consuetudines sine arura.

In *Havedlega Alexander* et *Aluredus* iiij. fol. et consuetudines sine arura.

Will. de Brome ij. fol. et consuetudines.

Nicholaus frater Molendinarii ij. fol. et consuetudines sine aratura.

Eadwinus Fahel ij. fol. et consuetudines.

Elyas ij. fol. et consuetudines, si non fuerit de bedeleria.

Terra Torti ij. fol. et consuetudines sine aratura.

Ambreslega de consuetudine debet reddere xv. sextaria mellis, et iiij. milia anguillarum, et ix. virginti mitas salis.

* In *Hamtona Willielmus Pintelthein* tenet dim. hidam, et debet ire cum Runcino suo per totam Angliam ad portandum pannos cujuslibet Monachi, in expensa Abbatis. Idem tenet dim. virga-tam quam *Arnaldus de Celario* tenuit pluribus annis pro ij. fol. Hanc dim. virg. Abbas *Adam* ei accommodavit, ad tempus, pro *Judea*, quam predictus *Willielmus* duxit in uxorem.

Quatuor virgæ bovariorum sunt: per totum annum virga debet invenire ij. homines ad carrucam Domini. Et in autumpno ij. homines in ebdomada, et ad wid. (sic) oc. et ad fenum debent adjuvare, et tollum, et pasnagium; nec chirfet, nec decim. nec wudefelver, nec fispani, nec hid. —Unde,

Bercharius tenet vj. acras pro custodia ovium, si fuerint; et est quietus ab omni servitio: et si non fuerint, dabit xvi. den. et si non censat, operabitur quantum 1. Cotlanda.

Porcharius

This church has also four hides at *Beningeorde*,* and *Urfo* has five hides there. These five hides *Walter* Abbot of *Evesham* dereined † at *Ildeberg*, at the junction of the four shires, in the presence of the bishop of *Bajeux*, and other of the king's barons.

There

Porcharius tenet dim. virg. pro custodia porcorum, si fuerint; et si non fuerint, debet xvj. den. pro dim. terra virgæ; et si non censat, operabitur quantum 1. Cotlanda.

Sex sunt Cotlandæ. Unaquæque debet operari in ebdomada per ij. dies, et in autumpno per iij. dies; et tolnum. et pafnagium, et auxilium.

Henricus Clericus dim. hidam pro x. fol. solebat operari, et geldat, et servitium Regis.

Radulfus tenet unam virgam pro v. fol. et tollum, et pafnag. et auxil. et debet arare, et falcare, et metere, et vineam fodere, et colligere; & quando operabatur, pro virga illa sicut alii homines in villa fecerint, sic et ille fecit, et omnes consuetudines.

Ricardus tenet 1. virgam pro iij. fol. & vj. den. et auxil. et arat, et metit, et colligit fenum, et vineam colligit, et servitium Regis.

Hugo Sorel 1. virgam pro tribus fol. et auxil. et arat, et metit, et fenum colligit, et vineam colligit, et servitium Regis.

XXiij. Virgæ sunt. Si operantur, per totam ebdomadam debent operari, et si sabbato operentur, reddatur eis; die dominico summagiant: et in autumpno, in ebdomada, ij. homines de (sic) creis. Et si messis operantium fuerint messata, debent accommodare Domino unaquaque die ij. homines; et auxil. et tollum, et pafnage, et ix. den. et wudefelver, et fispēni, et hidwude, et servitium Regis, a festo S. Michaelis usque ad Pascha, unaquæque carruca in ebdomada, die Lunæ, dimid. acram, et benarth, et chirfet.

Si censarent, v. fol. pro virga; et auxilium, et arant, et metunt, et fenum et vineam colligunt, et pafn. et tollum, et servitium Regis.

Galfridus Marefcallus tenet ij. acras de dominio Abbatis, et hoc est in voluntate Abbatis.

Perruc apud *Lorteburne* debet operari die Lunæ in ebdomada, per totum annum.

Molendinarius habet 1. dim. virgam, et 1. croftam, et 1. pratum, et 1. molendium pro viij. den. in ebdomada per annum.

Radulfus Arnald tenet *Lillingehom*, scil. 1. croftam, pro xij. den.

* Bengworth was acquired by *Egwin*, as his charter testifies. There is a list of the *bordarers* only of this place in the Cotton MS.

† *Diratiocinavit*: — a word difficult to render, and of which, as here applied, I do not know the exact

There are two carucates, and five villans, and two bordarers with two car. There are also six servants. In the time of king Edward it was worth sixty shillings; afterwards fifty shillings; now sixty shillings again. *In Esch Hund.*

Mortune

exact meaning. I have therefore adopted an old Norman law-term which seems nearly of the same import. In certain other parts of *Domesday* *diratiocinavit* appears to signify the *reclaiming* or *redeeming* an estate from *mortgage*. But we do not find that there was any *mortgage* in this case; but rather that *Walter* was obliged to *resign* many of the possessions of this Abbey which had been unjustly acquired by his predecessor.—Perhaps some little light may be thrown on this subject, (at least, a dry topic will be somewhat enlivened,) if I give from Hemingus [p. 80.] the particulars of a remarkable transaction concerning an estate at Bengworth, which may have had some connection with the event here recorded. It seems however to relate more immediately to the four hides mentioned just before in *Domesday* as belonging to *Evesham* Abbey.—It was contended that *Walter* ought to hold these four hides *under* the bishop of Worcester.—“Concerning this business,” (says the *placitum* or *decree* of William I. which is preceded by an epistle of Gosfrid, bishop of Constantia, and two others of William on the same subject,) “there arose a great dispute between the abbot and the bishop: the former, for a long time, unjustly excusing himself. At length this cause was tried and finally decided in the presence of *Gosfrid*, bishop of Constantia, whom the king had commanded to assist in putting his decree in force:—as also that he should endeavour to come at the merits of the cause, and to decide justly between the contending parties. A great convention was accordingly held in Worcestershire of the neighbouring earls and barons, in the presence of *Gosfrid*. The business was fully discussed, and the abovementioned claim was set up, over the abbot, by the bishop. The abbot defended himself. The bishop then appealed to lawful witnesses who, in the time of king Edward, had been acquainted with the true state of these affairs.—At length, according to the king’s orders and a decree of the barons, the court proceeded to judgment; and, because the abbot said he had no witnesses against the bishop, it was adjudged by the court that the bishop should nominate his witnesses, and, on an appointed day, bring them with him. That these should then confirm the bishop’s allegations by an oath, and that the abbot might bring what reliques he pleased with him for the same purpose. This was agreed to by both parties. The appointed day arrived. Bishop *Wlstan* appeared, as did the abbot *Walter*, and the barons who had been present at the former promulgation of the decree. The abbot brought his reliques, namely, the *body* of *St. Egwin*. There were also present, on the part of the bishop, credible witnesses prepared to take the above-mentioned oath. One of them was *Earic*, who in the time of Edward had been steers-man of the ship, and also leader of the troops which the bishop had then provided in the *service* of the king.—Another was *Kineward*, who had been viccomes of Worcestershire; one who had himself seen these things, and bare testimony of them. *Siward* also was a witness, a rich man of *Seropscyre*, and *Oßern*, the son of *Richard*, and *Turchil*, of *Warwic-scyre*, and many other elder and nobles, of whom the greater part are now asleep. But many still survive

*Mortune** is possessed by the same Abbey. There, in the time of king Edward, there were five hides; but great part of this land has now been disposed of elsewhere. In demesne is one carucate, and seven villans, and two herdsimen, with four car. There are likewise fifteen acres of meadow-land. A wood of three roods long, and one broad. It was, and still is, worth thirty shillings. *Rannulf* holds it of the Abbot.

This Abbey has also *Achelenz*. There are four hides and an half. In demesne is one carucate, and three villans, and four bordarers with one car. There are also two servants, and six acres of wood-land. In the time of king Edward

survive who were spectators of these transactions, and can testify of them.—The abbot perceiving the oath preparing, and all the proofs ready, and that there were no other means of receding, took the advice of his friends, released the bishop from necessity of the oath, and compromised the dispute. He admitted the whole claim of the bishop, and entered into an agreement concerning it.” —The paper ends in a very *warlike* manner on the part of the bishop and his followers.—“And thus,” (it continues,) “there are among us lawful witnesses, soldiers of St. Mary and of the bishop, who are prepared to prove this, if necessary, by *oath* or by *battle*, against *Rannulf*, the brother of abbot *Walter*, (whom they saw in the assembly maintaining the cause against the bishop,) if he shall deny to observe the agreement made between the two parties. We have also men of the sacred order, both priests and deacons, who are prepared to affirm the same under penalty of God’s judgments.” For the *agreement* itself see the Appendix.

* *Mortun* capella habet dim. virg. terr. et dat XXX. den. et 1. virg. liberam, et decimas horum, exceptis hiis qui tenent de dominico.

Radulfus liber homo tenet ij. virg. terr. quarum una est de dominico, et dat iij. fol.

Stephanus pro dim. hida et 1. crofta, 1. marca.

Rob. de Wicke tenet dim. hidam pro v. fol. et hoc injuste.

In eadem Villa sunt ix. virg. Si censantur, unaqueque illarum dat v. fol. et consuetudines. Si operantur, debent operari per iiij. dies in ebdomada, et in autumpno per v. dies; et debent auxilium, et theoloneum, et pannagium, geldum, et omnes consuetudines.

In eadem Villa sunt ix. coteriæ. Si operentur per ebdomadam, debent operari per 1. diem in ebdomada, et omnes consuetudines.

Decima eorum est Domini. Si censantur, quilibet eorum dat secundum tenementum quod tenet.

Supradicta Villa reddit annuatim Coquinario Lx. fol. ad quatuor terminos; Abbati vero xL. fol.

Edward it was worth twenty-five shillings; afterwards twenty; now only fifteen shillings.

The Abbey possesses *Buintun*. There is one hide, and one carucate, and three bordarers, and three acres of woodland. It was worth twenty shillings; afterwards fifteen; now only ten shillings.

It has likewise *Circelenz*. There, in the time of king Edward, there were four hides of land. In demesne are two carucates, and a priest, and three villans, and two bordarers, and four herdsman, and one Norman. Among them all, these have three car. It was, and still is, worth thirty shillings.

In the city of *Wirecester* the Abbey of *Evesham* has twenty-eight tenements. Of these, five are laid waste, and the rest yield twenty shillings.

Some estates* this Abbey at one time possessed in the same county, but which were alienated before Domesday survey was made.—From the same register. [p. 177.]

URSO possesses *Uptune*, and *Herlebold* holds it of him. *Alwin*, Abbot of *Evesham*, had, and still ought to have it, according to the testimony of the county-courts. It was worth sixty shillings, now only fifty.

The same *Urfo* has *Witune*, in *Wich*, and *Gumfrid* holds it of him. The church of *Evesham* had it in the time of king Edward. It was worth twenty shillings; now only fifteen.

This

* Of these only the most curious historical matter, and the value are extracted.

This land one *Vluiet* gave to the *Evesham* church, and placed it, as an offering upon the altar, at the time his son *Alviet* was made a monk. This was done in the fifth year of king Edward's reign. Afterwards, the Abbot *Ælwin* gave this estate to his uncle, to hold during life. This man was slain in the war of *Harold* against the Norwegians, and the church resumed her estate before the arrival of *William* into England; and that Abbot held it as long as he lived. His successor, Abbot *Walter*, also held it for seven years.*

The same *Urso* has *Hantune*. The Abbey of *Evesham* had it in the time of Edward. At that time it was worth four pounds; now fifty shillings only.

This manor the Abbot of the aforesaid Convent bought of a certain *tenant*† who had a right to sell his estate to whom he pleased, in the time of king Edward, and presented his purchase to the church by means of a writing laid upon the altar; as the county-courts bear witness.

In Dodintret Hundred. [p. 175.]

THE bishop of Bajeux possessed *Aētune*, and *Urso* held it of him. It belonged to the church of *St. Mary* of *Evesham*, in the time of king Edward. Afterwards *Urso* obtained it from the Abbey, by the exchange of another estate. He now holds it in fee of the bishop of *Bajeux*. In the time of king Edward it was worth seventy shillings; now four pounds.

K

The

* These are curious particulars. The survey however does not tell us how it was lost; but it was probably one of the many estates which the crafty *Egelwin* had acquired, and which his successor *Walter* was obliged by *Odo* to resign. [See Lives of the Abbots.]

† *Taino* — must here, I believe, mean a *tenant in capite*. Dr. Nash has translated it *Thane*.

The bishop of *Bajeux* has *Lenche* and *Urfo* holds it of him. — Of this estate *Gislebert*, the son of *Turolde*, gave two hides to the church of *Evesham*, for the soul of *earl William*, and by the consent of the king; and from this fund a monk was appointed in the church.* For two more hides Abbot *Elwi* gave one mark of gold to king *William*, and afterwards, for his own soul, gave up this estate to the Monastery. To this, *Gislebert* son of *Turolde*, who received the money for the use of the king, is witness. Of these the Abbey was seized for many years, till the bishop of *Bajeux* took them away, and gave them to *Urfo*. In king Edward's time it was worth one hundred and ten shillings; afterwards thirty shillings; now forty-two shillings.

[P. 175.] — *Eilesford* and *Eunilade* were at one time held by the Abbey of *Evesham* of the bishop of *Worcester*, till the bishop of *Bajeux* took them from the Abbey. These lands were appropriated to the maintenance of the monks.†

Possessions of Evesham Abbey in Gloucestershire. [p. 165.]

In Salemonesberie Hundred.

THE church of *St. Mary* of *Evesham* possesses *Malgersberie*‡ at *Edwardestou*. There, in the time of king Edward, there were eight hides, and a ninth hide belongs to the church of *St. Edward*. King *Adelred* resigned it to this Monastery. — In demesne are three carucates, and twelve villans, and one

* To pray for the soul of the above *earl* or *comes*.

† So it is specified in *Edward's* charters.

* An original endowment called in the charter *Meleygaresberrie*.

one free-man, and a priest, having among them seven car. There are also six servants, and a mill, value eight shillings, and a small piece of meadow-land. In king Edward's time it was worth an hundred shillings; now seven pounds.

The same church has *Tedestrop*.* There are seven hides. In demesne are two carucates, and ten villans, and two bordarers with three car. There are

K 2also

* Called *Tittlestrompe* in the founder's charter.

In *Tetlethrop* *Edgar* tenet ij. virgatas terræ, et vadit ad Comitatum, et ad Hundredum pro terra illa; et non debet habere nisi solam unam pro servitio Regis; et nihil facit pro dimidia hida nisi predictum servitium quod est in voluntate Dni Abbatis; et tenet terram 1. vel masuagium suum antequam tenebant iij. bordarii.

Avelina tenet dim. hidam pro v. fol. et debet dare aux. ad fest. S. Michaelis, et debet facere beneripas, scil. xij. homines.

Terra *Maillard* iij. fol. et iij. bederipes, et aux. et ad festum S. Egwini ij. gall. et servitium Regis; et debet portare breve Abbatis, et debet ire in nuntium Abbatis, per totam Angliam.

Molendinarius pro terr. et molendino viij. fol. et bederip. et aux.

Willielmus xij. fol. et bederip. scil. xxiiij. homines, et aux. et toln. et pafn.

Sewi ij. fol. et bederip. et aux. et toln. et pafn.

Osebertus ij. fol. et bederip. et aux.

Walterus Tribe ij. fol. et bederip. et aux.

Alditha vidua xij. den. et bederip. et aux.

Radulfus ij. fol. et bederip. et aux.

Sunt xx. virgæ ibi. Si censentur, unaquaque debet reddere per ann. iiij. fol. et iij. bederip. et aux. et pafn. et chirset; et unapuaque virga debet arare 1. acram quæ vocatur Benerthe.

Predictæ virgæ si debent operari, unaquaque debet invenire hominem in opere Domini per totam ebdomadam, preter diem sabbati. Si opus fuerit Dno quod operentur die sabbati, et summagium fecerint, tunc Dominus debet reddere eis quod accomodavit die sabbati; et reddat die Lunæ. Et unaquaque virga debet dare ad pentecosten vj. den. et ad nativitatem S. Johannis Bapt. vj. den. scil. aletselver, et 1. den. de fissæpeni prima die quadragesæ, et toln. et pafn. et aux. et totas consuetudines; et si erciant, una die erciant et alia die.

Tres sunt bovarii qui tenent iij. virg. terr. et debent operari die Lunæ, et die Veneris; et debent ad festum S. Egwini unaquaque virga iiij. gall.

Tota

also four fervants, and one foldier with two car. Likewife a little meadow-land. It was worth four pounds; now one hundred shillings.

This Abbey has likewife *Bortune*.* There are ten hides. In demefne are fix carucates, and fixteen villans, and eight bordarers, and two free-men with feven car. Also a prieft with half a car. — It was worth eight pounds; now twelve pounds.

This church has *Bradewelle*.† There are ten hides, and in demefne fix carucates,

Tota decima hominum de blado, et de agnis, est Domini preter decimam bovariorum, quod est ad placitum Domini. Capella prefatæ Villæ habet dim. hidam, et valet x. fol. pro omni fervitio; et de hominibus Villæ habet xxviij. thravas pro omni decima preter linum; et nullum fervitium facit Dno Regi, neque Dno Villæ.

* *Bourton* on the water was probably an original endowment; and the place called *Buchtun* in *Egwin's* charter, (poffibly from the miftake of tranfcribers,) is the fame, I doubt not, with *Bourton*, anciently called *Burhtun*. We cannot well fuppofe the founder meant *Binton*; which there are other reafons to fuppofe was given fome little time *after* the foundation. Much lefs can we imagine *Binton* to have been intended by *Mayeldefeurdy* or *Sildfwick*: the only names befide, concerning which there can be any doubt.

† In *Bradewelle* *Walter* miles habet duas hidas terr. quietas ab omni fervitio, preter fervitium Regis: et preter hoc, predictus *Walterus* iij. cotlandas liberas, et 1. virg. terr. annuatim pro ij. fol. et 1. croftam quæ antiquitus folebat reddere 1. fext. mellis, et viij. acras de dominio.

Reginaldus et *Bernardus* tenent 1. hidam terr. quietam ab omni fervitio, preter fervitium Regis.

Ecclefia tenet 1. hidam terr. et debet fervitium Regis, et debet ire in exercitum cum facco fuo, et cum ttubla. (sic) Ipfa debet habere iij. garbas de blado *Walteri*, *Reginaldi*, *Bernardi*, *Warini*, molendarii, et totam decimam bovariorum in Villa de cafeo, et lana, et lino, et de aliis minutis decimis; et de curia Domini triceffimam acram de blado, et xxx. agnum, et xxx. cafeum, et xxx. porcellum.

Molendinarius debet pro terra et pro molendino viij. fol. et iij. bederepes et aux. et toln. et pafn.

Sex funt virgæ quas bovarii debent habere, et debent operari die Lunæ quolibet per annum; et in autumno die Lunæ, et die Veneris, et totum fenum Domini parare; et ad feftum S. Egwini debent xxiiij. gallinas vel vj. aucas; et debent tolnagium et pafnagium.

Roadland

carucates, and twenty-five villans, and eight bordarers, and one free-man, and a priest. These, among them all, have twelve car. — In *Glowecestre* are four tenements, and one in *Wicelcombe*, which return twenty-seven pence. The whole was worth eight pounds; now twelve pounds.

Roadland debet xxij. den.

Serich xij. den. vel debet operari quolibet die Lunæ per annum; et in autumnno omni die Lunæ, et die Veneris.

Daniel tenet i. virgam terr. de feld acris, et masagium suum; super ij. cotlandas pro iiij. fol. et debet bederip. et aux. et non servitium Regis; et debet toln. pafn. et benarthe, et chirfet, in placito Domini.

Paganus dim. virg. de feld acris pro ij. fol. et bederipe et aux. et toln. et pafn. et non benarthe, nec chirfet, nisi in placito Domini.

Willielmus de Duninton tenet v. virgas et dim. virgam quietas ab omni servitio, preter servitium Regis, quas *Walterus Abbas* dedit predecefforibus suis injuste; et preterea tenet i. virg. pro * * * * injuste.

V. virgæ sunt apud *Duninton* de feld acris, quas Dominus tenet quietas ab omni servitio.

Sunt xxxiiij. virgæ aliæ. Si censentur, unaquaque debet reddere iiij. fol. et bederip et aux. et toln. et pafn. et chirfet, et benarthe, scil. acram, et grefarthe.

Si predictæ virgæ operentur, debent operari per totam septimanam preter sabbatum; et si summagium vel aliud opus fecerint die sabbati, dominus reddat eis die Lunæ. Prima die quadragesimæ unaquaque virga debet fispenni, scil i. den. Et de eletfelver ad Pentecosten vj. den. et ad nativitatem S. Johannis Bapt. Et si erciant, per i. diem; alia die sunt quieti.

Duæ garbæ de blado de *Duninton* de decima sunt Domini, et decima fetium.

Decima Rusticorum de *Bradewell*, et garbæ duæ *Walteri*, *Bernardi*, *Reginaldi*, *Warini*, molenarii, sunt Domini, et decima agnorum.

In Widelei Hundred.

THIS Abbey possesse*s Swelle*.* There are three hides, and nine villans, and two bordarers, and a priest. These, among them, have four car. There are also six servants. — It was worth four pounds; now five pounds. — In demesne are three carucates. There is likewise a mill, value twenty shillings.

This church has also *Willerfei*.† There are eight hides, one at *Wiquenn*. — In demesne are three carucates, and sixteen villans, and four bordarers, and
a priest

* Whether this is the place denominated *Snella major* in the founder's grant I cannot determine. In the library of the College of Heralds in London is a torn charter relating to this estate.

† An original endowment. — In the Cotton MS. are the following notes concerning tenants here.

In *Willerfeia* Ecclesia tenet 1 virg. terr. cum masagio quietam ab omni servitio.

XXVII. Virgatæ sunt apud Willerefeie. Si operantur, per totam ebdomadam debent operari preter sabbatum, et die dominico debent summagium facere; et aux. et tol. et pas. et chirchset, et wudelfver, et fissepeni; et per septimanam unaque caruca a festo S. Michaelis usque ad Pasch. debet arare dim. acram; et in estate debent arare quantum poterint una die; et debent falcare apud *Evesham* iij. partes, et apud *Huniham* 1. partem, et colligere, et ducere, et vineam fodere, et colligere. Et de cres (sic) in autumpno ij. homines in ebdomada, usque ad festum S. Martini. Si homines Villæ prius messuerint Domino, cotidie debent adjuvare Dominum, quousque messuerit.

Si censentur, pro virga iij. fol. et aux. et tol. et pas. non chirset; et arant, et metunt, et fenum colligunt; non wudelfver, non fissepeni; et falcare *Huniham*, et iij. partes apud *Evesham*; et vineam colligere, et fodere.

Tres Cotlandæ, si operantur, in ebdomada per ij. dies, et in autumpno per iij. dies; et aux. et tol. et pas. Si censant, ij. fol. et aux. et tol. et pas. non servitium Regis.

Tota decima ejusdem Villæ in blado, in lino, in agnis Domini est; et cetera habet capella ejusdem Villæ,

a priest with six car. There are also two servants, and a small piece of meadow-land. It was worth four pounds; now one hundred shillings.

The Abbey has *Wefune* likewise. There are three hides, and one free-woman. In demesne are two carucates, and five villans, and a priest with two car. It was worth twenty shillings; now forty shillings.

This church possesses *Stock*. There are two hides. In demesne is one carucate, and seven villans, and two bordarers with two car. There is likewise one servant. It was, and still is, worth forty shillings.

The Abbey has *Hedecote*. There are three hides. In demesne is one carucate, and two servants, and four widows of villans lately deceased who have one car. It was, and still is, worth twenty shillings.

These two villages the Abbey has entrusted to the care of two of its soldiers.

In the *Ferding** of *Wicelcombe St. Mary of Evesham* had fifty-six hides in the time of king Edward.†

In

* *Ferdingo*.

† Beside the above *particular* notices of each parish, the MS. furnishes us with the following *general* ones.

T. R. E. In *Wicwonia* viij. hidas, iiij. carucæ, viij. bovarii. Viginti rustici sunt in *Bretfortona* qui pertinent ad *Wicwon*, et xv. bordarii.

T. R. E. In *Badeseia* v. hidas et dim. iij. carucæ, vj. bovarii, ix. rustici, v. bordarii.

T. R. E. In *Aldinton* i. hid et dim. iij. carucæ, vj. bovarii, ij. bordarii.

T. R. E. In *Benigworh* iiij. hid. ij. carucæ, iiij. bovarii, (j. Faber habet,) v. acras, v. bordarii.

T. R. E. In *Hamton* v. hid. iiij. carucæ, viij. bovarii, xij. rustici, vj. bordarii. De hac Villa tenet i. virg. terr. et dim. libere *Albretha* foror Abbatis *ij. hid. (sic) et i. virg.*

T. R. E. In *Offeham* xvj. hidæ; viij. ex his jacent in *Bretforton*, et viij. in *Littleton*; iiij. carucæ,

In WARWICKSHIRE.

In Fernecumbe Hundred. [p. 239.]

THE Abbey of *Evesham* possesses in *Witelavesford* five hides. The land is of six carucates. In demefne are two, and three fervants, and two maid fervants, and four villans, and fix bordarers with two car. There is likewise a mill, value ten shillings, and which furnishes twenty sticks of eels. There are twenty-four acres of meadow-land. A wood of one rood long, and half a rood in breadth. In the time of king Edward it was worth forty shillings; afterwards thirty; now fifty shillings. This estate was held, in Edward's reign, by *Wigot*.

This

carucæ, viij. bovarii, xiiij. rustici plenarii, xiiij. bordarii. Ex his xvj. hidis *Ranulfus* frater Abbatidis habet iij. hidas et 1. virg. terr. libere. *Ranulfus Travers* 1. hid. et 1. virg. de dominio. *Witthelard* iij. virg. de dominio. *Ansgerus* 1. virg. de dominio. *Oßernus* 1. hidam liberam. *Alboldus* 1. hidam liberam. *Hugo* Marefcaldus 11. hid. et dim. de dominio.

T. R. E. In *Littleton* vj. hid. iij. carucæ, vij. bovarii. Monasterium dim. hid. xij. rustici; unus ex his tenet dim. hid. et xj. totidem virgatæ, v. bordarii.

T. R. E. In *Huniburnia* iij. hid. iij. carucæ, vj. bovarii. Monasterium 1. hid. x. rustici, ij. bordarii.

T. R. E. In *Hetheslench* iij. hid. et dim. 1. caruca, ij. bordarii, v. rustici. Duo ex his tenent ij. virg. et tres alii unusquisque dim. virg.

T. R. E. In *Chirclench* iij. hid. quas *Walterus* Abbas de dominio dedit *Ursoni de Abetot*, sine Capitulo.

T. R. E. In *Lenchwic* x. hidæ, v. carucæ, x. bovarii. De his x. hidis *Walterus* Abbas dedit hominibus suis vi. hid. et 1. virg. Set duæ hidæ antea erant liberæ, et iij. hid. et 1. virg. de dominio. In eadem Villa *Hugo* nepos Abbatidis tenet iij. hid. et dim. *Turstanus* 1. hid. de dominio.

This Abbey has also in *Sandburne* three hides. The land is of four carucates. In demefne there is one, and two fervants, and two villans, and four bordarers with three car. A wood one furlong in length, and half a furlong in breadth. It was worth twenty shillings; now is worth thirty.

In *Salford* the Abbey has two hides. The land is of fix carucates. In demefne there is one, and two fervants, and nine villans, and five bordarers with seven car. There is also a mill, value ten shillings, and which furnishes twenty sticks of eels. A meadow fix roods and an half in length, and one and an half in breadth. It was worth forty shillings; now is worth fixty shillings.

The fame church has in *Cheneverton* three hides, which *Rannulf* holds of the Abbey. The land is of five carucates. In demefne is one, and three fervants, and three villans, and two bordarers with one car. A mill also of three shillings value. Meadow-land one rood in length, and twelve perches

L in

nio. *Thurkil* 1. hid. de dominio. *Hurtebrand* in eadem Villa dim. hid. et xij. acras terr. libere. *Godwinus de Hokenarton* dim hid. de dominio. Firma x. lib.

T. R. *Kanuti*. In *Baddebi* iiij. hidas, v. caruc. x. bordarii, viginti et 1. rustici, xi. bordarii. Monasterium dim. hid. Rusticus in eadem Villa qui dat xiiij. fol. pro opere suo. In hac Villa tenet femina *Gosfridi* fratris Abbatis ij. hid. terr. et dim. libere. *Willielmus* fil. *Gosfridi* 1. hid. de dominio. *Morcarius* 1. hid. et 1. virg. et 1. bordell. de dominio; scil. dimid. hida est libera. *Algerus* 1. hid terr. *Mergetus* iij. virg. de dominio. *Levericus* dim. hida de dominio, et ij. bordell. terræ libere. Firma Villæ x. lib.

In the account of one of these parishes, (but of *which*, as the preceding leaf of the MS. is cut out, it cannot now be ascertained,) the following very curious remark in English is inserted.

“Mem.—That the parson is not good to the poor in three things.

I. That he hath more sheep than he should have.

II. That when the poor tenants do fold their sheep, then the parson keeps his sheep upon the hill.

III. That the parson erith up his gors, and the tenant gorith been destroyed by his cattle.”

By *gors* and *gorith* I understand *grafs*.—The rest is easily understood.

in breadth. It was worth forty shillings; afterwards five shillings; now twenty.

This Abbey possesses in *Wilelei* three hides. The land is of four carucates. There are * * * * *. [Here the survey breaks off abruptly.]

In NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

In Gravescend Hundred. [p. 222.]

THE Abbey of *Evesham* possesses four hides in *Liceberge*. The land is of ten carucates. In demesne there are two, and eight villans, and six bordarers with five car. It was, and still is, worth forty shillings. Levenot held them free, in the time of king Edward.*

THE

* The abovementioned MS. [Vesp. B. XXIV.] contains a sort of collateral survey of this Abbey's possessions, which seems however to have been taken considerably later than Domesday. It extends throughout the whole county of Worcestershire: but I have omitted every thing that has no relation to my plan. In some parts it resembles Domesday a good deal, in manner; but, on certain disputed possessions, tells often a very different story. I give this also in the original language, as it will not in many parts easily admit of translation.

In Valle de Evesham.

In Hundredo de *Filberge Evesham* habet vi. hidas, et non geldant; et iii. carucatas in dominico, et iiij. inter homines. Modo valet C & X. fol.

Stephanus filius Wolfwi iiij. hidas; *Herewardus* v. hidas in *Eunelade*.

Has

THE whole this Abbey possessed at the time Domesday was written, independently of ecclesiastical profits and returns in kind, amounts to the yearly sum of *one hundred and twenty-nine pounds*. This increased in the proportion of *twenty-three to one*, which nearly agrees with the relative value of money at that and the present time, will arise to the sum of *two thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven pounds*: — a very comfortable allowance for the small number of monks that then inhabited this foundation.

L 2

In

Has duas terras *Dailesford* et *Eunelade* tenuit Abbas de *Evesham* de Episcopo Wirecestriæ, quousque Episcopus *Bajocensis* de Abbatia recepit; et ipsæ terræ fuerunt de victu Monachorum.

— *Croppetornam* eum *Andertona*. (sic.) Ibi L. hidæ. De hoc manerio tenet *Robertus* Dispensator xi. hidas, et Abbas de *Evesham* v. hidas in *Hamtona*, de quibus Episcopus *Wirecestriæ*, tempore Regis Edwardi, tantummodo geldum habuit. De cetero tota quieta est. De eodem Manerio tenet Abbas de *Evesham* iiij. hidas in *Beningworth*.

Has terras *Urso* Vicecomes et quidam milites ejus habuerunt de Abbatia de *Evesham*, tempore Abbatis *Agelwini*, *Astun*, *Hamton*, quam *Inardus Parler* tenet; *Upton*, *Wittun*, dimidiam hidam. *Astun* erat de dominico Ecclesiæ, tempore Regis Edwardi, similiter et tempore Regis Willielmi xii. annis. Postea vero dedit Abbas *Egelwinus* prefatam terram *Astun* pro alia terra quæ *Beningworth* vocatur; quia erat juxta Ecclesiam sita. Quam *Beningworth* Ecclesia in dominico habuit, quanto tempore prefatus Abbas vixit. Sed, defuncto eodem Abbate, *Urso* utrasque terras, *Benninchworth* videlicet et *Astun*, per vim invadendo, retenuit; et Ecclesia omnino injuste perdidit.

Hampton, et *Upton*, et *Wittun*, quidam milites *Urfonis*, pro servicio, tenuerunt de Ecclesia. Sed, post mortem Abbatis, *Urfone* invadente ipsas terras, nullum servicium potuit habere.

Leinch Bernardi vocatur quædam villa juxta Abbatiam sita, ubi sunt iiij. hidæ: ex quibus Ecclesia habuit ij. hidas in dominico, tempore Regis Edwardi. Deinde, tempore Regis Willielmi Senioris, Abbas *Agelwinus* alias duas hidas de eadem villa, cum pecunia Ecclesiæ, a *Gilberto* filio *Tuoldi*, concedente eodem Rege Willielmo, emit; multisque annis, vivente eodem Abbate, Ecclesia eas simul in dominico habuit. Defuncto vero eodem Abbate, simul has iiij. hidas, favente sibi *Odone* Episcopo, *Urso* per vim obtinuit; et Ecclesia eas injuste perdidit. Aliam villam, quæ *Chyrch-Lench* vocatur, de dominico Abbas *Walterus* sibi eo tenore concessit, ut, eo vivente, prefatam terram pro servicio teneret; et, post mortem ejus, ad Ecclesiam rediret. Post mortem Abbatis *Walterii*, nondum hic Abbate existente, *Henricus* Rex servicium *Randulfi* fratris Abbatis sibi concessit, quod tamen, ante mortem suam, quia injuste illud invaserat, coram multis testibus Ecclesiæ reddidit. Plures fuerunt aliæ villæ quas Ecclesia habuit temporibus *Agelwini* Abbatis, et aliorum Abbatum sibi precedentium; sed *Odone* Episcopo faciente injuste Abbatia expoliata existit: quas Regis Barones plurimmodo habent, et Ecclesia caret.

In

In these extracts from Domesday we find no mention of two capital estates as any part of the Abbey's possessions: viz. *Badby* and *Newnham* in Northamptonshire, and the estates near *Penwortham* in Lancashire. The former is expressly said, in the list of benefactors, to have been given by *Canute*, long before the conquest, and was certainly part of its endowments, at one period, after it. May we not suspect that the abovementioned list was drawn up, *at random*, by some retainer to the Abbey, who was willing to make its possessions of as early a date as possible, that they might seem more *firm* and *incontrovertible*?

Penwortham

In *Evesham* dedit *Robertus Abbas Willielmo Camerario* unam virgatam terræ.

In eadem villa habet *Willielmus de Sevecurt* iiij. mansuras, *sine Capitulo*.

Item in eadem villa habet *Paganus Clericus* v. mansuras, *sine Capitulo*.

Constantinus v.

Einulfus i.

De *Burgo* xvj. mansuræ, dono *Mauricii Abbatis*, et *Rodberti Abbatis*, *sine Capitulo*.

Constantinus, id (sic) es, *Radulfus Dispensator* iiij. virgatas de Villanagio, dono *Rodberti Abbatis*, *sine Capitulo*.

Alboldus dimidiam hidam de Villanagio, dono *Mauritii Abbatis*, *sine Capitulo*.

Willielmus de Sevecurte tenet *Weslune*, dono *Rodberti Abbatis*, *sine Capitulo*.

Idem *Willielmus* tenet *Hildeburthewethe*, dono ejusdem Abbatis, *sine Capitulo*.

Radulfus Pincerna tenet *Withlakesford* in feudi-firmam pro iiij. libris, dono ejusdem Abbatis, *sine Capitulo*.

Idem *Radulfus* tenet *Graftun*, dono *Mauritii Abbatis*, *sine Capitulo*.

In *Huniburge* habet *Paganus Clericus* i. hidam de villanagio, dono *Mauritii Abbatis*, *sine Capitulo*.

In *Evesham* habet *Robertus Smalbert* unam mansuram, dono *Roberti Abbatis*, *sine Capitulo*.

Glouc.—*S. Mariæ Bortone*, x. hidas; *Bradewell*, x. hidas; *Malgarebury*, ix. hidas; *Swelle*, iiij. hidas; et i. hidam ad *Wicruennam*. *Willarfei*, viij. hidas. *Westone*, iiij. hidas. *Stoke*, ij. hidas. *Hedicote*, iiij. hidas. *Tatleshorp*, vij. hidas.

N. B. This seems to have been added to the bottom of the page, and to have little connection with what precedes or follows it.

Simon Dispensator tenet *Ulebergam* pro xxv. solidis, dono *Rodberti Abbatis*, *sine Capitulo*, et super excommunicationem *Sanctæ Mariæ* et *S. Egwini patris nostri*.

Willielmus Silvanus tenet i. hidam apud *Goldoram*, (sic) pro x. solidis ad firmam per annum, et detinet censum per vim, *defectu Abbatum*.

In *Acheslench* habet *Willielmus Meldrope* dimidiam hidam, dono *Rodberti Abbatis*, *contradicente Capitulo*.

Randulfus frater Abbatis Walterii habet in *Withelega* iiij. hidas de dominio. In *Kinewartuna* iiij. hidas de dominio. In *Stoke* ij. hidas de dominio. In *Liteltona* ij. hidas et dimid. In *Bretfortona* iiij. hidas et i. virgatam, dono *Walterii Abbatis*, *contradicente Capitulo*.

Willielmus

Penwortham and its adjacencies were certainly given after the conquest. — There are however two places, called in the founder's charter *Mayeldefbeordy* and *Sildfwick*, to the names of which I can find no resemblance either in *Domesday*, or in the modern appellations of villages, in any of those counties where the Abbey had estates.

Our enquiry into the remaining part of the estates of this foundation will not be very long. Its acquirements after the conquest do not seem to have increased with the rapid proportion in which they were accumulated before that

Willielmus Senechallus habet apud *Baddefeiam* v. virgatas; ex hiis iij. sunt de dominio et geldant: ij. sunt liberæ.

Willielmus de Dunitune habet in *Dunitona* v. virgatas et dimid. de dominio, et sedet in dominica mansione Abbatis, dono *Walterii Abbatis*, *contradicente Capitulo*.

Hugo Travers habet v. virgatas in *Liteltona* de dominio, dono *Walterii Abbatis* *sine Capitulo*.

Hugo de Bretfortun habet in *Bretfortun* ij. hidas et dimid. dono *Walterii Abbatis*, *sine Capitulo*.

[To this succeeds a list of the names of certain knights or soldiers of the king who held of the Evesham church above sixty-four hides; without performing any service for them, but to the king. It then proceeds as follows:]

In *Londiniis* Ecclesia S. Michaelis de *Cornhulle* pertinet ad Ecclesiam de *Evesham* cum tribus domibus, et reddit annuatim Ecclesiæ ij. marcas, et semel in anno ignem, falem, et litariam.

Ecclesia de *Hildendona* habe 1. hidam. Dimidium hidæ est de dominio Domini, quam *Milo Crispin* dedit *Waltero* Abbati ad faciendum hospitium suum; et predicta dimidia hidæ pertinet ad Ecclesiam. Ipsam Ecclesiam dedit Ecclesiæ de *Evesham* *Brian fil. Comitis*; et reddit annuatim 1. marcam, et unum hospitium invenit integrum Abbati per annum; et, si iterum venerit, ignem, falem, et litariam.

In *Wirecestershire*, xx. hidas, et v. hidas, et dim. hid. et xij. acras.

In *Glocestershire*, Lvj. hidas.

In *Warrewicsire*, xx. hidas, et 1. virgatam.

In *Norhamtonshire*, iij. hidas.

In *Staffordshire*, ij. hidas.

Summa C. et Lvj. hidas, et dimid. hidam, et 1. virg. et xii. acras.

The intelligent reader will easily perceive that these extracts, though they quote several sentences word for word from *Domesday*, are by no means a copy from it, but rather an enumeration of the heavy losses the Abbey had sustained by means of the Norman Abbots; who, presuming probably on the king's partiality, had enriched their friends and dependants with its possessions. — Besides being a curiosity in themselves, these extracts throw considerable light on the nature of our ancient tenures.

that time. Ecclesiastical emoluments will most of all swell our account ; as, in these, much assistance is derived from the extensive collections of Dr. Nash: to which however considerable additions are made from other quarters. These extracts will tend to elucidate likewise the temporal possessions of the Abbey, and, in some instances, shew their state at the present time.

Churches in and near *Evesham*, of which the Abbots of that place were once the proprietors.

I. *All Saints*, } **I**N *Evesham*:—both formerly appropriated to the
 II. *St. Lawrence*, } Abbey, to which they served as subordinate chapels.
 The priests who served them were called chaplains, and had the same allowance with the monks. They are now united ; and, as *St. Lawrence* is almost in ruins, induction to *All Saints* only is taken. The vicar is supported by the Easter offerings, and the contribution of the inhabitants.

III. *Bengworth*:—where is a very ancient church dedicated to *St. Peter*, of which, as well as of the two former churches, a farther account will hereafter be given.

IV. *Hampton, magna et parva*.—The church, dedicated to *St. Andrew*, was, after the dissolution, annexed to *Christ Church College*, Oxford. In this church, according to Mr. *Habington*, there was formerly some curious painted glass, alluding chiefly to its connexion with the Abbey. This has, long since, been destroyed.

V. *Bradforton*.—The church is dedicated to *St. Leonard*, and the living was, in queen Elizabeth's reign, appropriated to *Thomas Hareward*. The
 manor

manor continued with the crown till about the same period; when it was given to the famous earl of Leicester, from whom his brother, *Ambrose Dudley*, earl of Warwick, inherited it. Afterwards it passed through various hands. In Mr. *Habingdon's* time it was held by a *William Canning*. It now [1779] belongs to *William Lutwyche*, Esq. of Lutwyche, in Staffordshire.

VI. *Church-Honeyborn*. — This living; after the dissolution, was granted to the *Carell* family, of Harting, in Suffex. It was left by Sir *Thomas Carell* between two daughters, his coheireffes. One of these daughters was married to *Richard*, viscount Molineux; the other to *Henry Parker*, lord Morley. *Thomas Habingdon*, of Hindlip, by marrying lord Morley's daughter, afterwards inherited it: from whom it descended to the *Compton's* of Hartbury. — The lands in this parish, after the dissolution, were, for the greater part, given to the dean and chapter of Westminster; the rest to *Philip Hoby*, knight, of Bisham, in Berkshire. The manor of *Poden*, likewise in this parish, was once the property of the *Hobys*; but now of *Walwyn Graves*, Esq. of *Mickleton*, in Gloucestershire, grandson to the very respectable antiquary and historian *Richard Graves*, Esq. — The inhabitants of Honeyborn had, while connected with the Abbey, several customs remarkable enough to merit notice. Some account of one of these, a yearly procession to the Abbey, I give from a Latin paper preserved by Dr. Nash in his account of this parish.

“ Eugenius bishop, &c. — to the beloved sons of God the Abbots of *Wynhecombe*, and *Gloucester*, and *Hayles*, in the diocese of Worcester, health and apostolic benediction. — It appears from a petition lately exhibited to us, that the inhabitants of the parish of *Honiborn* have, for these six and twenty years past, continued a custom, — that one person from every house there should annually in Pentecost, go in procession to the Monastery of *Evesham* with a cross and banners carried before them, and there pay severally the sum of one farthing for each householder in that parish. But as it appears that many other tenants and dependants of the above Monastery are also accustomed to go thither in procession at the same time, and that, by their meeting in the way thither with each other, many grievous contentions and quarrels have arisen, through each party's endeavours to vindicate for themselves

selves the honour of precedency, and that from thence many mutilations, and even many murders have arisen:—to avoid in future these dangerous diffensions, we ordain that they now cease from their long-established custom of procession; but that they nevertheless continue, as before, to pay each householder one farthing to the above Monastery, at the accustomed season of Pentecost. As moreover it is asserted by the inhabitants of the vicinity, that the aforesaid village is distant about three miles from the Monastery, and that the above tenants and dependants, sufficiently numerous in themselves, and moreover elated by a confidence in the favour of their lords the Abbot and rest of the Monastery, have not feared to erect the horn of pride and defiance against the said inhabitants of the vicinity, through which they were used to pass, we have been, on the part of the said inhabitants, humbly supplicated that we would deign to provide for their future security by guarding against evils and dangers of this kind.”—The paper then finishes by prohibiting these curious processions, and threatening with excommunication those who shall dare to persevere in them.

VII. *Offenham*.—The church is dedicated to *St. Mary* and *St. Millburgh*. After the dissolution the profits of the living devolved to *Christ Church College*, in Oxford. This college still presents to the curacy, but neither institution or induction are now used.—The landed property was first granted to Sir *Philip Hoby*, whose nephew Sir *Edward Hoby* sold it. It afterwards came into the possession of the *Hazlewoods*. From them it passed into several hands. Part however was purchased by Mr. *Freeman*, and this devolved to Mr. *Bund*.—*Richard Bromesgrove*, Abbot of Evesham, about the year 1418, built a new room at *Offenham*; with a window of fine painted glass, representing the salutation of the Virgin Mary. He also completely repaired the chapel of the manor-house there, at the expence of three and twenty pounds. We are also informed by *Leland*, that *Clement Lichfield*, the last Abbot but one, built (or rather rebuilt,) an house in this parish which had always been a sort of country residence for the Abbots of *Evesham*. Finding the dissolution of his Abbey inevitable, he resigned; and retiring altogether to this place, probably died in it.

VIII. The three *Littletons*, *South*, *Middle*, and *North*, all belonged (as did likewise their churches or chapels,) to the *Evesham* foundation. There is now no church at *North Littleton*: but the parsonages of the other two belong to *Christ Church College*, in Oxford. — After the dissolution all three were given to *Thomas Leigh*; but the property is now in various hands. *North Littleton* is, at this time, the property of many. Of *South Littleton*, *Lord Coventry* is lord of the manor and principal land-holder. *Middle Littleton* now belongs to *Sir John Rushout*, who is lord both here and at *North Littleton*.

IX. *Norton* and *Lenchwick*. — Of these the first only has a church. The great tythes of this were by Henry VIII. granted to *Worcester* cathedral. Both parishes were, at one time, the property of the great monopolizer here, *Sir Philip Hoby*. At present *lord Craven* has the manor: but the dean and chapter of *Worcester* present to the vicarage.

X. *Badsey*: — to which *Aldington* is a chapelry. The church, dedicated to *St. James*, is a donative, and no institution or induction is required. This church, together with five others in the vale, viz. *Hampton*, *Wickamford*, *Middle* and *South Littletons*, and *Offenham*, was, by the pope's authority, exempted from all episcopal jurisdiction, and appropriated to the Convent of *Evesham*; which received the tythes of the whole parish, and served it by one of its monks. It is now appropriate to *Christ Church College* in Oxford, which appoints a stipendary priest. — Both *Badsey* and *Aldington* were once possessed by *Sir Philip Hoby*. The first of these is now in various hands; the latter belongs to *lord Foley*.

XI. *Wicemford*, or *Wickamford*, called *Wickwan* in the charter of *Kenred* and *Offa*, and *Wiquene* in *Domesday*, was one of *Egwin's* original endowments. The church is dedicated to *St. John Baptist*, and was granted by Henry VIII. to *Christ Church* in Oxford. The property, after the dissolution, fell to the *Throckmortons*; and afterwards to the *Sandys* family, where it now remains.

XII. *Ombersley*, called anciently *Ambresley*, (the name of which is by *Kennet* derived from the famous *Ambrosius*,) is also to be found in the original

charters. The Abbey of *Evesham* obtained the appropriation of the church, (dedicated to *St. Andrew*,) in the year 1326. For this *William*, then Abbot of *Evesham*, paid yearly to the bishop of Worcester thirty shillings. It now belongs to *lord Sandys*. The manor fell to the crown at the dissolution; and by the accounts of the bailiffs, it appears produced then the yearly sum of one hundred and sixty-three pounds ten shillings and two-pence halfpenny. Through various hands it passed into the *Sandys* family, who still retain it.

XIII. *Oldborough*, called formerly *Olberge*, and which is the same place I presume that is, in *Egwin's* charter, called *Ulbeory*, came into the hands of *Thomas Foley*, of Stoke-Court, in Herefordshire; from whom, through various hands, it passed by purchase to *John Peshall*, clerk of Guildford, (I suppose the late Rev. Sir *John Peshall*,) for the sum of five hundred pounds.—The property, at first, belonged to *Valentine Knightly*; afterwards to ——— *Packwood*, Esq. who sold it to the trustees of the *earl of Catherlough*.

XIV. *Stoney*, or *Abbots Morton*.—No account is given by Dr. Nash of the church, or the hands it fell into, after the dissolution. The property fell to the all-grasping Sir *Philip Hoby*, but is now in various hands.

IN WARWICKSHIRE.

I. **B**INTON, a large parish.—It was given by St. *Egwin** at the foundation: but was afterwards, with other possessions, wrested from the Abbey by *Alferus*, or *Elfere*, who expelled the monks in favour of secular canons.

II. *Wixford*.

* The short notices of these parishes are chiefly extracted from Dugdale's Warwickshire. But *Binton* does not appear among the founder's acquisitions. The place called in *Egwin's* charter *Buchtun* seems rather to apply to *Burhtun*, or *Bourton* on the water. *Binton* is however noticed in *Domesday* among the Worcestershire estates, and is there called *Buintun*.

II. *Wixford*. — This place, in the Conqueror's time, (but *Domesday* expressly says in king Edward's time,) was held by one *Wigot* or *Weyth*. This man is said to have been grandson to the famous *Guy*, earl of Warwick. This is one of the estates which the rapacious *Godwin* seized. But it again reverted to the Abbey by purchase, in the reign of the Confessor.

III. *Ardens Grafton*. — Here the Abbey had a small portion of land given it by the abovementioned *Wigot*, which was, in 964, confirmed to it by *Uffa*, his heir, who was buried here. This date differs from that in the list of benefactors, which is 973.

IV. *Weathle*. — This village, situated near the river Arrow, is among the endowments procured by *Egwin* himself. In *Domesday* it is called *Wilelie*. In the time of Henry II. it was held of the Abbey by *Ranulf Kinwarton*. In the thirteenth year of Edward the first, the Abbey, as it appears, challenged a court-leet and some other privileges; all which were allowed. In the reign of Richard II. the monks added to their possessions here, by purchasing from one *William Patty*, a freeholder, two messuages consisting of one yard land and an half, and three acres of meadow-ground. All this, at the dissolution, fell to the crown.

V. *Samburn*: — so called from a little sandy brook near it, was also given by the founder. The Abbot of *Evesham*, in the reign of Edward I. claimed here the same privileges as at *Weathle*; and these privileges were allowed.

VI. *Kingle*: — made once part of the parish of *Kinwarton*; but, before the fifth year of Henry III. had become a parish itself. At that time *Stephen de Ragley* granted to *Evesham* Abbey one hundred and fifty acres of land in this place. The Abbot here likewise claimed the same privileges as at *Sambourne* and *Weathle*. He had moreover at this village an assize of bread and beer, and right, by prescription, to erect a gallows. One *Richard Borduit* is recorded to have deprived the monks of fifty acres of the land they possessed here; but his pretext for so doing is not now known.

VII. *Hillborough*. — By whom this was given to the Abbey cannot now be discovered. It was however soon wrested from it. In the time of William Rufus, *Robert*, then Abbot of *Evesham*, granted it to one *William de Severcute*.

VIII. *Ilmington*. — No land here seems to have belonged to the Abbey. The church was, in 1291, valued at thirty marks; out of which one mark was paid in pension to the Abbey. In the reign of Henry VIII. it was valued at thirty pounds, and then the yearly pension paid to the Abbey was only six shillings and eight pence.

IX. *King's Broom*. — This place, which stands on the north-east side of the Arrow, was given in 711, soon after the foundation of *Evesham* Abbey, by *Ceolred*, king of Mercia; and was, with other estates, wrested from the Abbey by *Odo*, bishop of Bajeux, and half brother to William I. *Odo* gave it to one *Osberne*, who mortgaged it to *Egelwin*, the then Abbot of *Evesham*, for four marks of gold. As he could not pay the mortgage, it once more reverted to the Abbey. When both *Odo* and *Egelwin* were dead, the heir of *Osberne* seized it again.

X. *Salford Prior* : — lies also on the river Arrow. It contains *Dunnington*, and two other hamlets. A salt spring found here in the year 513, gives name to this place. It was part of the founder's endowment, but did not continue long with the Abbey. In Edward the Confessor's reign, *Godiva*, wife to earl *Leofric*, possessed it. After the conquest it was given to the canons at *Kenilworth*, at which time the then Abbot of *Evesham* sued again for it. At length an agreement was concluded that the Abbey should have thirty shillings a year pension from the canons. This happened in the nineteenth year of Edward I.

XI. *Salford Minor* : — was given at the foundation in 709, and belonged to the Abbey when Domesday survey was made.

FROM the accurate and very laborious researches of bishop Tanner, we are informed of several other church possessions of this Abbey.—1. The advowson of *Barford*,* in Warwickshire,—2. Of *St. Michael's, Cornhill*, in London,—3. Of *Corwelle*,† in Oxfordshire, belonged to it. 4. The impropriations of *Hillingdon*,‡ in Buckinghamshire, with a third part of the demesne tythes,—5. Of *Leyland*, in the diocese of Coventry; together with the appropriations of—6. *Badby*, in Northamptonshire,—7. *Muckleton*, in the diocese of Worcester, and of—8. *Meryton*, in that of Lincoln, all belonged to *Evesham* Abbey.—This foundation had moreover a pension of ten shillings yearly from the *Kenilworth* canons, over and above (I apprehend,) the thirty shilling pension compounded for at *Salford Priors*. The Abbot had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over many of the churches in the vale of *Evesham*, which he obtained of the bishop in exchange for the advowsons of *Kinwarton* and *Weston*. All offerings made to the statue of St. John Baptist, in *Southstone*,§ in the parish of Stamford, in Worcestershire, belonged to the *Evesham* monks, and doubtless many other ecclesiastical emoluments; but of the above only are there proofs extant in any work or records I have had opportunity to consult.||

Beside the estates enumerated in Domesday, it appears, from authentic records,

* For the vouchers of these I refer the reader to Tanner's Notitia. [pp. 618, 619, and 620.]

† Ceded to one *Alicia de Gras*, with a pension reserved.

‡ For this church there may be seen in Kennet's Parochial Antiquities [p. 151.] the charter of *Brian Fitz-Count*. See also titles of charters in the Appendix.

§ There is still preserved in that parish the offertory basin in which these offerings were received, with an inscription very difficult to make out. See Dr. Nash's pleasing account of that place. [Vol. 2. p. 366.]

|| It appears however, from the title of a charter inserted in the Appendix, that they had also the great tythes of, and, I believe, some land in *Pikelege*, or *Pikesley*, in Herefordshire.

records, that this Abbey had lands in *Grafton*, *Coughton*, or *Cocton*, *Ragley*,* and *Overfley*, in Warwickshire;—at *Penwortham*, *Farrington*, *Tillingdon*, and *Leyland*, in Lancashire;—tenements, separately from their estates, in *Bartham*, *Seynshury*, and *Aldgate*, in London; and two virgates of land in *Newnham Mary's*, in Northamptonshire. It is known likewise that it possessed considerable estates in *Badby*, if not the entire manor.†

Considerable emoluments likewise must have arisen from a market, and two annual fairs at *Stow*, in Gloucestershire;—a market, and one fair, at *Ombresley*, in Worcestershire;—liberty of the forest of *Feckenham*; a right of common pasturage at *Waleton*, in Lancashire;—free warrenage at *Badby*,‡ in Northamptonshire;—a knight's fee at *Ayton Somerville*, in Somersetshire;—liberty to impark three hundred acres of land at the *Ombresley*;—to inclose and impark part of the forest at *Badby*;—and the liberty of the entire hundreds of *Salemonsbury*, in Gloucestershire, of *Whitlaxford*,§ or *Wicksford*, in Warwickshire, and of *Blakenhurst*, in Worcestershire.

Of entire manors it is known to have possessed that of *Chedworth*, first without licence from the king, which was however afterwards obtained;—of *Bengworth*, given by one of the Beauchamps;—of *Ulleberwe*; (the same, I apprehend, with *Olberge*, or *Oldborough*;) *Muckleton*, *Nethercote*,|| and *Ywely*,
in

* This place, like *Badby* and *Penwortham*, is said to have been given before the conquest; and, though not inserted in Domesday as part of the Abbey's possessions, appears again afterwards indubitably as such. [See list of benefactors.]

† The memorandum of Sir Philip Hoby likewise specifies some lands in *Eiford* and *Slaughter*, in the county of Gloucester. [Stevens's Supp. p. 463.]

‡ This Abbey had a right of *free warrenage* also in the following places:—*Ombresley*, *Offenham*, the three *Littletons*, *Honeyborne*, *Hoddeho*, *Bretforton*, *Aldington*, *Badsey*, *Wikewan*, or *Wickamford*, *Hampton*, *Bengworth*; [in Worcestershire.]—and at *Willersey*, *Swelle*, *Bradwell*, *Donington*, *Stowe*, *Mangerbury*, *Tatlestop*, *Burton*, and *Clopton*, [in Gloucestershire.]

§ I do not in Domesday find any mention of such an hundred. *Whitlaxford* or *Wicksford* itself is there placed in *Fernecumbe* hundred. But thus Tanner, and after him Dr. Nash.

|| See titles of charters in the Appendix.

in Gloucestershire; — *Tatlington*, *Seinsbury*, and over *Sydington*, *Tydelmerton*, *Admifcote*, *Exford*, and probably many more for which we have now no sufficient vouchers. It cannot however be supposed but that *Badby*, when they obtained leave so largely to impark, must have been one of their manors. These are to be understood as in addition to those places in Domesday, which we may presume, from the mode in which they are noticed, were also the manors of this foundation.

But this detail, especially the latter part of it, must, as we cannot now appreciate the exact value of these possessions or privileges, appear vague and unsatisfactory. It will however serve to give the reader a general knowledge of this Abbey's ample endowments. What in reality can we think of them, when we are told, from undoubted authority, that this Abbey lost, within no very long period of time, and without any material derangement in its affairs, no less than *twenty-eight manors*, and *three appropriate rectories*?

I will now end this dry and tedious subject, for which I hope the following chapter on the Customs of the Abbey (more perhaps by the *variety*, than the *nature* of its information,) will make some amends, by inserting from Stevens an exact account of the profits of one of its smallest manors: — that of *Salford Abbots*, in the county of Warwick.

Manor of *Salford Abbots*, in Warwickshire, parcel of the possessions of *Evesham Abbey*.

I. **T**HE rents of the heirs of *Thomas Littleton*, Esq. deceased, arising from one mill, now dilapidated, and from one meadow or close, called *Mille-crofte*, amounting yearly to one pound six shillings and eightpence.

II. The

II. The rents or farm of a portion of land belonging to the lordship, of twenty shillings, and of one messuage there, and of one virgate and an half of land, called *Hindges*, let to *Thomas Sorrel* for seventeen shillings per annum;—one pound seventeen shillings.

III. The rents or farm of the grange-house of the manor, and of another portion of land belonging to the lordship, and of a meadow called the farm-meadow, let to *John Amarye*,—one pound.

IV. The rents or farm of one messuage and of one virgate of land, called *Meringe*, of eight shillings, and of another messuage and half a virgate of land, called *Wilden*, of seven shillings, let to the above *John Amarye*,—fifteen shillings.

V. The rents or farm of another messuage and half a virgate of land, called *Colleets*, let to *John Rawlins*,—eight shillings.

VI. The rents or farm of one messuage and of one virgate of land with its appertinancies, called *Hewes*, let to *John Heyward*,—sixteen shillings.

VII. The rents or farm of two messuages and of one virgate and an half of land, called *Hudges*, let to *Richard Emmes*,—one pound four shillings.

VIII. The rents or farm of one messuage and of one virgate of land, called *Damaryes*, and of one cottage, called *Nortone*, let to *Richard Crowler*,—eighteen shillings and four-pence.

IX. The rents or farm of one messuage and of one virgate of land, called *Hagemes*, let out to *John Ballard*,—thirteen shillings and four-pence.

X. The rents or farm of one cottage, with half an acre of meadow-land, let to *Agnes Webbe*,—two shillings and eight-pence.

XI. The

XI. The rents or farm of one messuage and of half a virgate of land, with one meadow, called *Baxters*, let to *Magaret Merynge*, widow, — nine shillings.

XII. The rents or farm of one bake-house let out to *Thomas Merynge*, at the will of the lord of the manor, — one shilling.

XIII. The farm of a portion of the tythe of hay in *Salford*, which lately belonged to the *almoner* of the Monastery, now let to *Edward Mounteffed* and *Sibilla* his wife, by indenture that they should yearly pay, — six shillings and eight-pence.

XIV. The farm of all and singular the tythes and portions of tythes, both great and small, in the town and parish of *Salford Abbots*, in the county of Warwick, (excepting that portion of the hay tythe abovementioned,) — three pounds.

XV. The perquisites of the court there, and other incidentals, amounting usually every year to — two shillings.

The whole amount is *twelve pounds nineteen shillings and eight-pence*. This account (it being without any date,) seems to have been made soon after the dissolution of the Abbey.

The value of this foundation, as estimated at the dissolution, was, according to Stevens, *one thousand two hundred and sixty-eight pounds, nine shillings and ten-pence*; according to Dugdale, *one thousand one hundred and eighty-three pounds, twelve shillings and nine-pence*. For very evident reasons, (such as rents paid in kind and other incidental emoluments,) we may safely chuse the higher number of the two; and, even at that estimation, suppose it greatly underrated. Now if we may be allowed the conjecture, that the value of money has decreased in regular proportion to the intervening distance of time, (and yet it is probable this decrease has happened with a continued acceleration,) as we before determined it to have been, when *Domesday* was written,

about *twenty-three to one*,* it must, of course, at the dissolution, have been in the proportion of *seven to one*. The annual revenue of Evesham Abbey will thus arise to the sum of *eight thousand eight hundred and seventy-six pounds*, at the lowest. But it is, on every account, probable that if we had made it *twelve thousand pounds per annum*, we should still have fallen far short of its *real income*.†

* This proportion of *twenty-three to one*, which I have met with in several writers on English antiquity, includes within it, I take for granted, this consideration;—that the value of the *Norman pound* was equal to about *three pounds two shillings* of our present money. *If not* the value of this foundation, as estimated by the Norman record, must be taken still considerably higher.

† Our idea of the value of this foundation will be prodigiously raised, (possibly *too much so*,) if we attend to the valuation of another monastery, that of *St. Alban's*, by *Udal*. At the dissolution that abbey was valued only at £2510 6s. 1d.—“If,” says the above author, “all the old lands were united together, they would be worth at this day, in all rents, profits, and revenues, about £200,000 a year; according to the improved rents at this day.”—Now the valuation of Evesham being £1183 12s. 9d. at the dissolution, the present value, according to this mode of calculation, ought to be almost £95,000 per annum.

C H A P. IV.

CUSTOMS AND INTERNAL REGULATIONS OF EVESHAM ABBEY.

IT will not be easy to devise a better method of obtaining a complete idea of the rules and established customs of this foundation, than by laying before the reader a close translation of the Institutes of the Abbot *Randulf*; drawn up about the year 1223. To this, any occasional fragments of information preserved by Stevens and other antiquaries, may be compendiously subjoined, in the form of notes. The original cause of this body of Institutes was a dispute which arose between the abovementioned Abbot, and the rest of the fraternity, relating to some almost obsolete regulations. To prevent these contentions in future, by the advice of the strenuous *Thomas de Marleberg*, so often commemorated, all the ancient customs, before *traditional*, were collected and written down by the Abbot, and were afterwards submitted to the pope for his approbation; which was transmitted through his legate.

The reader will scarcely require to be admonished, — that our business here is merely with the *peculiar* regulations of this foundation. Most of these are probably included in this paper of Institutes, if we except perhaps some differences in their mode of divine service; in which respect these houses often varied from each other: but upon which it would be too prolix here to dwell. For the *general* regulations of the *order*, Dugdale and the Supplement of Stevens may be consulted, where all requisite information on the subject will be found.*

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INSTITUTES

* It should here be observed that there is a sort of abridgment of this paper to be found in Dugdale, [vol. 1. p. 146.] beginning with these words: "Cum Johannes Dei gratia," &c. But that evidently contains merely the heads of the other, though perhaps somewhat more clearly expressed. This is doubtless a copy of the original institutes of *Randulf*; and although very perplexed

INSTITUTES OF EVESHAM ABBEY, WRITTEN BY THE ABBOT
RANDULF.

TO all the sons of our holy mother the church to whom these presents shall comè, *Randulf*, by the grace of God, Abbot of Evesham and of the whole Convent of that place, wisheth health and prosperity in the Lord. — Since we have been thought worthy to obtain from pope Innocent the third a confirmation of the written distribution or assignment of our rents to the various offices in our Convent; not of such rents as we possessed before the time of that confirmation, but also of such as we have since acquired; we have judged it of moment to commit to posterity in writing the knowledge and proper distribution of them as thus established by authority. For both by pope Innocent the second, and pope Alexander the third, not only those rents which we possessed in their times, but such also as we might afterward by lawful means acquire, were granted and confirmed to us: to which privileges it will appear from these our regulations and customs that we are justly entitled. The Institutes of this our Convent now follow.*

The

plexed in stile, and often obscure in other respects, contains many more curious particulars, and much more minute information than the other. It is to be found in the original Latin in Stevens, [Appen. p. 128.] who copied it from the Cotton MS. Augustus II. 9. The abridgment is still to be seen in the Augmentation Office, with the seals of the Convent affixed to it.

* With respect to the connexion these foundations had with the adjacent towns, and the jurisdiction usually claimed over them, the following paper accidentally picked up at a grocer's shop at *Evesham*, by the publisher, will afford considerable information. No diligence however, (and much was used,) could procure more of it than is here given. It seems to be part of a deposition at some trial relating to the privileges of the town, soon after the dissolution; but, I believe, lessens the power and jurisdiction of the Abbey much beyond the truth: or, at least, what they *originally* were. This it was natural enough to do when the Abbot's power no longer existed, and the town

was

The *Abbot* constantly residing within the limits of the Convent shall, according to ancient usage, lead among the brethren a regular life and conversation; and shall manage their temporal concerns providently and faithfully to the best of his power, and so as may most conduce to the utility of the church.

The

was contending for privileges which it might now take to itself without detriment to the original possessors.

——— “ To the 6th interrogatory he deposeth and saith : — That the said abbot, bailiffs, and rent-gatherers, before the dissolution of the said Monastery, had *no government or rule* over the said town : — but that the government thereof all tended to the bailiffs of the said town for the time being.

7. — To the 7th interrogatory he deposeth and saith : — That, before the dissolution of the said Monastery, the said bailiffs and governors of the said town, for the time being, did gather and receive the *profits* of the *markets* and *fairs* holden within the said town, and were the *governors* thereof.

8. — To the 8th he deposeth and saith : — That, before the dissolution of the said Monastery, the bailiffs and governors of the said town had and received the perquisites and profits of the *leets* and *courts* there holden within the said town.

9. — To the 9th he deposeth and saith : — That he never knew, in all the time of his remembrance, any of the abbots of the late dissolved Monastery elect, make, or chuse any of the bailiffs of the said town; but knew of his own knowledge that one *Clement*, sometime abbot there, did request the inhabitants of the said town that one *John Matthews*, then the chief *cook*, might be chosen one of the bailiffs of the said town. — To which the said inhabitants answered that *they would not seek their bailiffs in the abbot's kitchen*. Whereupon the abbot promised them to *provide another cook for that year if they would elect him bailiff, and did so accordingly*. Whereupon the said inhabitants did chuse and elect the said *Matthews* one of the bailiffs of the said town.

To the 10. 11. 12. 13. and 14. he cannot depose.

15. — To the 15th he deposeth and saith : — That, before the dissolution of the said Monastery, the bailiffs of the said town, for the time being, did, in all the time of his remembrance, chuse the two *sergeants* at *mace* within the said town, and the *bell-man* there; — which *bell-man*, as he thinketh, is the common *crier*.

To the 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. and 23. he cannot depose.

24. — To

The *prior*, *sub-prior*, the third *prior*, and other obedientiaries of the order; the *prior* of *Penwortham*, the *precentor*, *dean*, *sacrist*, *chamberlain*, *manciple*, the *cellarer*, *infirmarer*, *almoner*, the keeper of the *vineyard* and *garden*, the inspector of the *church-fabric*, the *pitanciary*, and the attender on *strangers*, shall all be chosen in the general council, and with the general consent of the whole Convent, or of its better and wiser part; and shall afterwards be by the Abbot of the said Convent ratified and confirmed in the chapter-house. If (which God forbid!) any one of these shall behave himself dishonestly or imprudently in his office, or shall manage badly the affairs of the fraternity, being first corrected for it according to regular usage, he shall, if he do not amend, be afterwards removed from his office in full chapter, and another shall immediately and in the usual form be by the chapter appointed in his stead:—left by any accident, or by the neglect or decease of the Abbot, these offices should fall into the hands of the king, or through any delay in noticing such offences due subordination should be lessened in the Convent, or new delinquencies should by such neglect arise.

The prior and the aforesaid superiors of the order shall, assisted also by the Abbot's endeavours, use all diligence to preserve the strictest monastic discipline according to the rules of the blessed *Benedict*; and chiefly they shall take care lest the monks should have in their possession any thing which it is contrary to the regulations to possess; that they eat no where except in the refectory; that their pittancies be required of, and dealt out properly by the almoner; that they do not go out of the Convent without leave of their superiors;

24.—To the 24th he deposeth and saith:—That the *bailiffs* of the said town for the time being, have had the *hearing* and *determining* of all *debates*, *controversies*, and *misdemeanours*, happening within the said town in their *fairs* and *markets* there kept, *before* the dissolution of the said Monastery; but what they have done *since* he knoweth not.

To the last interrogatory he cannot depose.

Signed

RICHARD HOBY,
RICHARD EGEOCK,
WALTER JONES."

superiors; that silence be observed in all places where it is required by the statutes; and that they frequently confess their offences, but to those only who are deputed for that purpose.

All those officials who receive the rents shall four times in every year audit their accounts before the Abbot, (or whomsoever he may appoint in his stead,) the prior, and six others of the fraternity, three of whom shall be nominated by the Abbot, and three by the Convent. The manciple shall do the same every week. These officials while at home shall be considered as a permanent body, and shall, as such, attend the rest of the fraternity to the church, the chapter-house, the cloisters, and the refectory; that if (which God avert!) any defect, omission, or vacancy should arise in any of the offices, they may be at hand immediately to supply for them.

No one shall at the same time hold two separate offices; but each official shall have an assistant appointed for the alleviation of his labour, and as a witness of his diligence. If any one in office shall through the badness of the times* expend more money than the rents allowed to his office will afford, the deficiency shall be supplied from any redundancy that may arise in the other offices. But if none of them shall have the means of making up for this deficiency, the Abbot himself shall supply for it by the hands of the cellarer for exteriors. If moreover all the offices have sufficient, and there should be any residue left, the Abbot, with the consent of the chapter, or the greater and wiser part of it, may dispose of such residue in such a manner as may mostly conduce to the utility of the Convent. But if any loss shall accrue to those rents which are assigned to the offices, either for a perpetuity, (which God avert!) or for a time only * * * * or these rents shall be entirely lost or in any way diminished, the Abbot shall, by consent of the chapter, determine on some means for supplying those on which the loss shall chiefly fall from other resources. It is, on the other hand, lawful likewise for the Convent to increase both the general rents and those assigned to particular offices, to acquire new or augment the old ones by any just and equitable

* "Propter maliciam temporis."

equitable means; and either temporally or for a perpetuity to exchange them for other possessions of equal value and utility to the Convent.

The *cellarer* for exteriors, or steward of the Convent, shall be appointed by its members and by the Abbot in chapter. His office is (under the Abbot) to take on him the whole care of the concerns of the Abbey, (excepting only those rents which are assigned to particular offices,) and freely to administer necessaries to the use of the monks; such as bread, ale, broth, fire, salt, and certain other articles expressed in the Institutes. The cellarer should also, according to the ability of the Convent, provide for the entertainment of guests and strangers. But it is the office of the chief cook or manciple to provide for those among the abovementioned who are of the religious order, in the same manner as for the monks of the house; excepting however the Abbots and their chaplains, for whom nothing shall be by him provided except on fast days: so that these regulations do not in any wise affect them, unless at those times when they eat in the public refectory. But the cellarer shall provide for the servants of the obedientiaries of the Abbey, and administer a just and proper allowance according to the established regulations of the house. This officary shall moreover be accountable to the Abbot not only at the four abovementioned periods, but as often as the Abbot shall think proper; and, as has been already observed concerning the rest of the officials, unless he behave well in his office he may, at the just request of the Convent, be by the Abbot in chapter removed from his station, and another appointed in his room.

The Abbot shall preserve entire the number of monks, and shall neither receive or reject any one, either for a time or for a perpetuity, without consent of the Convent, or of its greater and wiser part, assembled in chapter. He shall not confer any church or other rents or estates of any kind to any one without the consent of the chapter, neither shall he dismiss the tenants or husbandmen without consent of the same. He shall likewise obtain the consent of his Convent for the recovery of those estates which may have been alienated, either in his own time or in that of his predecessors. In like manner must he consult the rest of the Convent, assembled in chapter, both
in

in ecclesiastical and civil causes, as well with respect to the mode of carrying them on, as to their termination and decision. The servants who are retained to attend on the monks, — those of the infirmary, taylory, the laundry, the refectory, the sacristy, the locutory, can be appointed or removed only with consent of the chapter, as before specified. But all this is to be understood as in no wise affecting or interfering with the regular Institutes of the order.

To the *priorship** belong all *obventions* or *fees* under common seal; and all the tithes of *Bengworth*, both great and small, arising from land belonging to the Abbot and monks there: and these to buy parchment for the writing of books. To the same office belongs also the hall or manor-house of *Bengworth*, with the crofts appertaining to it, the garden and vineyard, the meadow which lies before it, and all those messuages belonging to the said crofts which are situate around it, from the house of *Thomas Algar*, as far as the house of *Walter Bellard*. For prior *Thomas*, by the common consent of the Convent, exchanged for this estate a certain portion of land at *Littleton*, which he had purchased of *Radulf*, the steward there, from which, at the time, a greater rent was paid than from the estate at *Bengworth*. On which account it was

O

ordained

* The laborious Stevens has collected from MSS. in the Cotton Library many curious fragments relating to the offices of this Convent, which will very properly serve as notes to the Institutes of *Randulf*. The following relating to the priorship of *Penwortham* is one of these, extracted from Vitellius 17. fol. 240.

“Memorandum:—That the Convent of Evesham shall have from the priorship of *Penwortham*, yearly against the feast of St. *Egwin*, sixty salmon, viz. that number of *samlets*, or four and twenty fish of a larger size that may make up the same weight. Besides these the said prior shall present the Abbot with two large *salmons*, and the prior of *Evesham* with one. The prior nevertheless shall be allotted one out of the former quantity.

Mem.—That *Radulf* of *Wylecote*, formerly prior of *Penwortham*, assigned to the Convent for the expences of *blood-letting*, sixty shillings yearly from his improved rents; and *William de Chiriton*, our Abbot, confirmed this assignment, in the year of our Lord 1320.

The same prior was accustomed to send to each of the monks one whole salmon.”

ordained* that the prior for the time being should ever afterwards, on the anniversary of the aforesaid prior *Thomas*, sustain thirty poor persons in the locutory, for the good of the souls of the prior and the rest of the brethren; and should moreover find a wax-taper on the festival of *St. Wylan*, and another on the festival of *St. Credan*, to burn day and night before their respective shrines.

To the office of *dean* belongs a corredy of one servant of the cellar; and also the collection of Peter's pence, wheresoever the bishop does not collect them: from whence he is annually to pay to our lord the pope twenty shillings. To this office belong likewise the visitation of all the churches in the vale, and the fees of all causes appertaining to the deanery, from whence the dean is to furnish an allowance or additional pittance to the Convent on the Sunday on which is sung *Misericordia Domini*.†

To the office of *precentor* or *chanter*‡ belong the tithes of *Stokes*, and some lands

* It may be supposed that the *Bengworth* estate afterwards increased in value so much as to exceed the other in its yearly returns. Otherwise this donation to the poor would seem rather to have been imposed as a punishment.

† Probably the 89th Psalm, *My song shall be always of the loving kindness of the Lord*, &c. in which case however it should be *Misericordiam*, or *Misericordias Domini*.

‡ “To the office of *precentor* it appertains to deliver out the arms [*armaria*] to the care of the young men, and to see the same be repaired. When the Convent shall meet in the *cloister* [I presume,—the *library* which was over one side of the *cloister* is here meant,] he shall, on hearing the signal given, go round the *cloister* and replace the books, if by chance any one shall have forgotten so to do. He must also take the charge of all the Convent's books, and have them in his keeping, provided his studies and knowledge be such as make him worthy of the office. No one shall take out a book without its being written down in his roll or list; nor shall any book be lent without a proper memorandum of it, which memorandum likewise shall be written down in his book. It is also his concern to prevent any negligence from taking place in the duties of the Convent. If any one through forgetfulness shall neglect to begin” [*singing in the choir*] “when he ought to begin, or, having begun well, shall afterwards deviate from the proper chaunt, it is his office to make him begin in proper time, or, in case he is wrong, correct his mistake. He should moreover

lands in *Hampton*, from whence it receives yearly five shillings; and some other lands in *Alcester*, producing about as much. From this fund he is to find parchment for briefs, and for charters or leafes to be signed by the common feal, for the briefs of deceased brethren, and also ink for the writers of the Monastery;—colours for the illumination of books,—necessaries for binding them, and for all needful repairs of the organs.

To the *facristy* belong fix chapels in the vale: namely, those of *Norton*, *Lenthewike*, *Morton*, and *Uffeham*, and two in *Evesham*; of which two last, viz. *All Saints* and *St. Lawrence*, the chaplains ought to have daily from the cellar and buttery, bread and beer, in like proportion with the monks. The facrist ought also to provide for the sustenance of one servant in the same

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manner

over notify to the Abbot beforehand all the chaunts which he is to sing and lead off with in the choir. Whoever is to read or sing in the Monastery should, if he receive no notice from him before the time, listen to, and follow his leading off. The care likewise of the briefs," [in this instance meaning, I apprehend, messages and letters,] "which are accustomed to be sent out from the Monastery, devolves upon him; as well as of many other things expressed in the Institutes. There also belongs to this office of precentor that apartment in the court which is near the prior's stable, viz. a good chamber above, and one beneath, with a stable over against it, and two *carestates* [*carestate*] of hay, and one *carastate* of beans and pease annually to be received from the lord Abbot.—By his office he ought also to ride with the younger brethren as often as they shall ride out *pro ordinibus suscipiendis*; at their expence however both with respect to the horses and other matters.—The precentor ought moreover to provide and prepare * * * * those scriptural texts and representations, [*scriptura tabule*,] which are made use of in the seven festivals, viz. at Christmas, the deposition of St. Egwin, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption of the blessed Mary, the translation of St. Egwin, and the feast of All Saints; for which service, as well as for his other labours during these festivals, he shall receive at each of them one *prychpot*," (the reader must appeal to much deeper antiquaries than myself for the explanation of this odd word,) "and four of the smaller sort of loaves baked for the monks.—It is the precentor's office also on the seven principal festivals to carry to the Abbot the book of legends," [so I understand *legendam* here to imply, rather than the scriptures or the missal,] "that he may appoint what part should be read at matins." [In this place some words are effaced in the MS. It concludes with the following passage which, both from inconnexion and obscurity, I chuse to give in the original words.] * * * * "note fuerit, quam lectionem Precentor debet audire secundum librum. Et notandum, quod quandocumque fuerit processio in villa, Precentor habet assignare canti latamas (sic) tres vel plures inter hos aut illos, secundum discretionem et habilitatem vocum." [Sievens's Appen. p. 140. copied from Vitellius E. 17. fol. 252.]

manner as the Abbot's servants are provided for, and to take care that he shall have sufficient provender for one horse, and proper forage from the grange. — The sacrist moreover shall receive yearly two marks from the church of *Baddebi*; ten shillings from the chapel of *Withlakesford*, and from the meadow at *Silford*; half a mark from the church at *Weston*; five shillings and two cakes of wax from the church at *Stowe*; five pounds of wax from the church of *St. Alban*, in the city of *Worcester*; and three marks from some land in the same city. Those shops [*solda*] which are situated near the gate of the Monastery belong likewise to the sacrist. He receives yearly fourpence from the premises of *William* the smith;* [*Fabri*;] two pounds of wax from the lands of *Nicholas* the cook; [*Coci*;] five-pence from the land of *Matildis* in *Merstowe*; † six-pence from the land of *Nicholas* the sacrist, [*Sacriste*,]

* It is difficult always to distinguish in these old writings the *occupation* from the *surname* of the persons mentioned; though there can be no doubt but that the latter frequently owed its origin to the former.

† Beside these particulars, I have procured from the British Museum many additional memoranda of the revenue belonging to the sacrist. They were copied from fol. 10. of the MS. so often mentioned, and seem to differ from *Randulf's* paper of *Institutes* rather in the names of *tenants* than in the estates from which this revenue was drawn. I therefore conclude the MS. to have been of somewhat later date than the Abbot's performance. I shall insert here only a few of such articles as are curious and may interest the antiquary.

Capella *S. Margaretæ* debet [Sacristæ] annuatim unam libram incensi per manus personæ *S. Andreae*.

De curia Abbatis [in *Wirecestre*] xL. den.

Aldwinus Spich xiiij. den. et consuetudines de terra iuxta *Aulam piscinam*.

Terra *Hugonis* vj. den. et 1. salmonem.

De terra *Edgari* presbiteri in vico *meretricum* xiiij. fol. et iiij. den.

Sacrista habet in *Hacchesten* iij. fol. et una virgata terræ de *Osberto* libere.

Idem *Osbertus* tenet dim. hidam ut equitet cum Sacrista in equo proprio per totum. Duas vero hidas (una virgata minus) habet in usus Sacristeriarum Sacrista et unam hidam in bosco.

Idem habet v. fol. de terra *Henrici de Hamtun* ad inveniendum unam lampadem ante altare *S. Thomæ Martyris*.

crifte,] in the same place; six-pence from the lands of the seneschall, [*Senescalli,*] which before were *Gerald's*; six-pence from the land of *Bulet*; thirty-pence from the lands of *Ferre*; two-pence from the lands called *le Hofiere*, in *Bruggestrete*; two shillings and four-pence from the lands of *William de Tiwe*, in the great street; six-pence from the lands of the same *William de Tiwe*, next to those called *le Hofiere*, in *Bruggestrete*; forty-pence from the lands of the steward, [*Dispensatoris,*] next to the grounds of *William de Tiwe*; fifteen-pence from the estate called *Gordans*, in *Colejstrete*; two shillings from the lands of *Reginald* the smith; [*Fabri;*] eight-pence from the lands of *Walter*, next to them; the same sum from the lands of *Pate*; sixteen-pence from the lands of *Nicholas* the fuller, near the water; twenty-pence from the lands of *Henry* the smith; [*Fabri;*] four-pence from the adjoining lands of *William Tiwe*; fourteen-pence from the lands of *Simon* the smith; [*Fabri;*] eight-pence from the lands of *Andrew* the cook; [*Coci;*] and five shillings from the lands at *Hampton*. In *Lench* there belong to the sacristy three hides and an half. In *Bretforton*, in one field fifty five acres. In another, seventy-six, which are demesne land. Of the villanage lands, five virgates and an half; and both the great and small tithes* of the same lands. The tithes also of four hides in the above parish, two of which belong to *Hugh*, and two to a soldier of *Cocton*; the tithes both great and small of nine virgates of the land of *Pagan*, in *Lutleton*; the tithes of five virgates of the seneschall's lands in *Badeseye*; the tithes of a certain free tenant of the demesne lands

at

* There is in Stevens [Appen. p. 134.] a minute, but not very interesting account, of the tithes for which the parishes both of *Lench* and *Bradforton* were answerable to the sacrist of *Evesham*; and also the names of the persons who paid them. As it throws but little additional light on the Customs of the Abbey, I do not insert it in full. From *Bradforton* the sacrist received yearly forty-four thraves of corn, excepting one garb. At the end of the *Lench* account is the following general memorandum.

“ Summa decimarum spiritualitatis et temporalitatis Eveshamiæ in episcopatu Wigornienfi xxxl. iis. ixd. Inde dominus Abbas solvit xixl. xvs. viid. ob. Et conventus xl. viis. id. ob. Abbas et conventus solvent pro medietate in archidiaconatu Wygornie xil. xxs. id. Inde Abbas viil. xvs. —d. ob. q. In archidiaconatu Glocestriæ medietatem decime iiii. vis, ixd. Inde Abbas xliiis. xd. Et conventus xxis. xid.”

at *Pikefley*, in Herefordshire; and all the offerings and bequests to the altar at *Evesham*.*

To the altar of St. Mary in the crypts there are to be furnished from the sacristy seven wax tapers, to burn continually while the mass of our lady the glorious Virgin is there celebrated, (two of which were from the earliest antiquity found by the sacrist,) together with one wax light to burn perpetually day and night. For the support of this, as well as of the above-mentioned,

* “According to ancient custom, the sacrist ought to furnish one wax-taper to burn continually before the great altar. By the new regulations, he is obliged to furnish another to burn in like manner before the shrine of St. Egwin, and a lamp to burn day and night before the tomb of St. Wilsin. He is also annually bound to furnish to the Convent a pittance of salmon and an allowance [*caritas*] of wine, on the day of the death of the same saint.

According to ancient custom, the sacrist ought to find two wax-lights daily for the mass of St. Mary; all the vestments and other apparatus of the altar; every night one cresset to burn till morning before the altar of St. Mary; and one lamp to burn by day: to support which expences all the offerings there made were his perquisites.

By the new Institutes, he is obliged to furnish one wax-taper to burn continually there, and seven others, (including however the two abovementioned,) to burn at the mass of St. Mary; to find incense daily for the same purpose; to keep one lamp continually burning by day, and one cresset by night, as is mentioned before. But neither vestments, vases, or any other apparatus for the altar is he obliged to supply, unless in cases of great necessity; such as may be superinduced by theft or by fire, which may God avert from the Monastery! Nor does the sacrist now receive the offerings made there, but the altar-keeper.

The sacrist ought also by the new Institutions to find yearly, against the festival of St. *Wilsan*, two wax-lights to burn day and night before his shrine, and two against the festival of St. *Credan*; on both which occasions one is to be understood as for himself, and the other for the prior. For the supply of those for the latter, the newly-acquired tenement which once belonged to *Galfrid* the son of *John*, between the tenements of *Adam le Veske*, and of *William de Tywe*, near the gate of the Monastery, is appropriated. Its value is twelve-pence.

This official is obliged moreover to furnish a lamp to burn continually before the altar of St. Mary, and this from the tithes of the ancient lordship in *Actheslend*, which lordship was first acquired and applied to the above use by Abbot *Thomas*, when sacrist. To the same purpose all the mustard-

mentioned, Master *Adam Sortes*, when sacrist, assigned half a virgate of land which he had redeemed from one *Peter de Lewz*; the small tithes of nine virgates of land in *Lutleton*, which he obtained [*evicit*] from the rector of *Lutleton* church; and also the tithes of the newly cleared wood-lands of *Lewz*, [*de assartis de Lewz*,] which right of clearing [*assartandi*] the same sacrist had acquired, at a high price, from many persons who had a right of common pasturage there. The sacrists, from the remotest antiquity, had been obliged to provide one cresset, which burned only during the night. One lamp to burn perpetually was supplied from the tithes paid by the lordship of *Lewz*, which prior *Thomas* first of all received and applied to that use. Lest the sacrist should seem overburdened by the aforefaid expences, it was provided that the keeper of that altar* should find all the vestments and other necessities

mustard-seed belonging to the Convent is appropriated by the sacrist. The whole value of the above is five marks and eleven shillings.

The estates and rents appropriated yearly to the altar of St. Mary in the crypts, next follow.

Before the altar of St. Mary in the crypts, according to ancient custom, one lamp ought to burn by day and one cresset by night, and at every mass of St. Mary two wax-lights to be lighted up; and these, as was said before, the sacrist always supplied. But by the new regulations, one wax-light and one lamp are to burn there continually, and one cresset by night as formerly. Incense moreover is daily to be supplied at mass, all which things the sacrist is to find; and to support these expences he has, as was before mentioned, certain rents assigned. Beside these, at the celebration of the mass of St. Mary, twenty-four wax-lights ought every day to burn. Of these the sacrist finds six, the senescall of Evesham one, and the altar-keeper all the rest. At the same mass, there ought also thirty-three lamps to be lighted up, which lamps the altar-keeper is to supply. He furnishes likewise all vestments, vases, and other apparatus for the altar; and the sacrist has no utensils to furnish there, excepting in a case of great necessity; such as may have been occasioned either by fire or by thieves, which may God avert!" [Stevens's Appen. p. 146.]

* Stevens has some curious information concerning the altars of this Abbey and their consecration, to which I have made some additions from the British Museum, and shall insert the whole.

"Memorandum:—That in the year of our Lord 1295, and in the twenty-third of the reign of king Edward, on the 17th of the kalends of January, and on the Friday after the festival of St. Lucia, our Monastery was reconciled [*reconciliatum*] by the bishop of Bangor. Also on the
morrow,

faries for it, which aforetime had been supplied by the sacristis. The same altar-keeper ought also to furnish thirty lamps* to burn while mass is there celebrating, and seven wax-tapers; to enable him to do which, all the
mustard-

morrow, viz. on the Sabbath, the 16th of the kalends of the same month," [so in the original] "the four altars behind the great altar were consecrated by the bishop of St. *Asaph*, who on the same day held an ordination [*ordines celebravit*] in a solemn manner. On the following Sunday the same bishop dedicated the church of St. Lawrence. On the Wednesday following, viz. on the festival of St. Thomas the Apostle, he consecrated two altars in the crypts;—the altar of St. James and of the Apostles, and the altar of St. Blase. Also on the Thursday ensuing, he consecrated two other altars in the crypts, viz. those of St. Andrew, and of St. Benedict. On another Thursday, the festival of St. Thomas the martyr, he consecrated the church of *Bretforton*; and on the morrow, the feast of St. Egwin, he dedicated the church of *Honyburne*. On the Sabbath, the eve of the circumcision, he consecrated the altar of St. John the Baptist. In the same year, and on the feast of St. Peter, *ad vincula*, he dedicated the church of *Norton*. On the festival of St. John the church of *Baddefeye* was also dedicated; and on the day after the feast of St. Egwin he consecrated the chapel of St. Mary." [Appen. p. 141.]

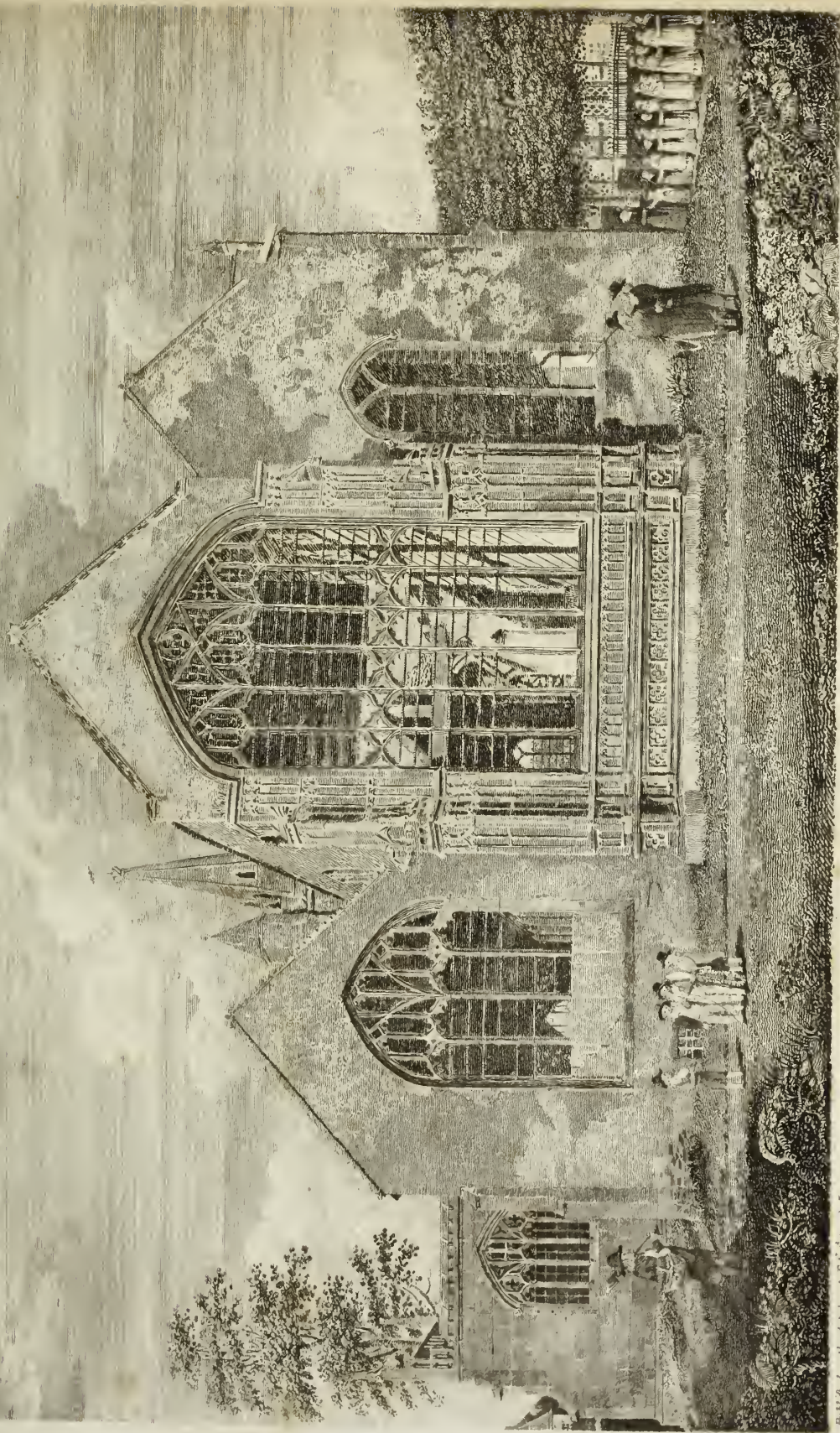
The following notices are from the British Museum.

"Memorandum:—That on the ides of September, in the year of our Lord 1357, the venerable father *Reginald*, bishop of *Worcester*, dedicated the greater altar in the chapel of the manor-house at *Ambresleye*, in honour of the Saints Mary Magdalene, Anne, Katharine, and Benedict. The same bishop also on the same day dedicated the lower altar in honour of the Saints Egwin, Mary, Thomas of Canterbury, George, and Sebastian.

Memorandum:—That on the 9th of the kalends of October, 1358, the venerable father *Richard*, archbishop of *Nazarus*, consecrated the upper altar in the chapel of the manor-house at *Offenham*, to the honour of St. Mary the glorious Virgin, St. John the Apostle, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Michael the Archangel, St. John Baptist, St. Anne, St. Margaret, and St. Martha. The aforesaid father consecrated also, on the 2th of the kalends of October, the lower altar which is under the Abbot's chamber, in the same manor-house, to the honour of the Saints Martin, Benedict, Christopher, George, Leonard, Mary Magdalene, Katharine, Apollonia, and Winefrid. [Harleian MS. 3763. fol. 115.]

* The following charter of *John*, Abbot of *Evesham*, contains some very curious and minute information concerning the customs of this house, particularly the regulation of the lights; and minute particulars are, after all, the most acceptable in our enquiries into remote antiquity.

"To



EAST WINDOW OF THE CHURCH OF ST. LAWRENCE.

— Formerly a Chapel to the Abbey —

To SIR CHARLES W. BOUGHTON ROUSE Bart of D. Sutton Hall, Salop. — This Plate is humbly dedicated by his most humble Servant J. Agg.

feed from the granges was assigned over to the sacrist; all the offerings made to the same altar; two shillings from the lands of *Walter Per*, near the bridge at *Evesham*; nineteen-pence from the lands of *William Carpenter*, on *Run-*
P *hulle*;

“ To all the faithful in Christ to whom these presents shall come, *John*, by the divine permission, Abbot of the Monastery of *Evesham*, and of the Convent of the same place, eternal health and prosperity in the Lord.—Know ye that we, by unanimous consent, have given, granted, and by this our present writing have assigned and confirmed, (for the salvation of our own soul, and for that of *Thomas*, monk of *Evesham*, and our prior,) one tenement with a court adjoining, purchased at the expence of the above *Thomas*, to the office of sub-prior of our aforesaid Convent. This tenement is situated in the High-street of *Evesham*, on the western side, opposite to the gate by which carriages enter the cemetery, between the tenement of the sacrist of the above Monastery, which *William Fremon* inhabits, on the one side, and the tenement of the pitancary, in which resides *William Weler*, on the other, together with that first chamber situated in our infirmary formerly in the occupation of *John Warwyk*, on the left side of the entrance to the infirmary, to have and to hold the aforesaid tenement, with all its appurtenancies, as well as the chamber above-mentioned, to *Henry Bengeworth*, sub-prior, and his successors for ever. Nevertheless with this condition, that the sub-prior, for the time being, shall furnish two lamps, one at the gate of the locutory, *ante Karulos*, and another before the gate of the kitchen, with lights in them continually burning at night, from the time of complines, in honour of the crucifix there placed, and for the sake of the processions devoutly and frequently to be made by all of us before our collation; and also that the brethren contemplating God in the cloister may be enabled to pray more devoutly for the pardon of our and their own offences; viz. from the feast of the translation of St. Egwin, bishop and confessor, until the feast of the purification of St. Mary, as often as, and at those times on which it may be necessary. With this proviso however, that the aforesaid sub-prior, together with the third prior, shall, with the aid and assistance of the prior himself, use all diligence that the gates of the cloister, towards the court, be shut as often as the Convent shall meet in the cloister; and also that the masses of the Holy Ghost, and those for the defunct, shall by no means be neglected or delayed. But if it should happen, through the negligence of the above-named superiors, that the gates should not be shut, or that the aforesaid masses should be delayed beyond their proper time, the said superiors shall become liable to the rebuke and admonition of the prior. Or if, by the neglect of the aforesaid sub-prior, the said lamps and the lights belonging to them shall not be properly supplied, or should be negligently lighted up on any of the nights before specified, we ordain that such defect shall be amended and supplied for by the prior for the time being, and by the Convent at large. We also ordain and grant that the said brother *Thomas*, prior of our Monastery, shall, as long as he shall live, possess the said tenement with the court adjoining, without the molestation of any one.—If any person shall rashly presume to counteract or contradict this our ordinance, may he by such deed incur the indignation of the omnipotent God, of the blessed Virgin Mary, of the Apostles Peter and Paul, of the holy Egwin, and of all the saints.—Given in our chapter-house, in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and fifty, on the feast of the decollation of St. John the Baptist.”

hulle;* twelve-pence from the lands of *William Ourry*, in the new made estate which lies between the land of *Albanida Capis*, and the land of *John Gaveston*, as also from the lands of the wife of *John Caperis*, which lie between the land of *Philip* the sacrist, and the lands of the said *John*; the whole rents of the tenements built upon the space before occupied by two shops and an half, toward the gate of the cemetery, and of the houses built over the piazzas of three shops and an half in the great street, near the gate of the cemetery, towards the Abbey gate; of two shops which *Adam Sortes* bought; of two more which prior *Thorne* bought near those of *Richard de Warwic*; of the lands which *M.* the relict of *Credan*, gave to the Monastery; of all those lands in *Evesham* which were once the property of *Richard de Kent*; of some lands in *Stretford*; two shillings from the estate at *Radeford*; two shillings from the estate at *Strengesham*; and lastly, two shillings from the estate at *Marcleye*.

To the *almery* belong two bake-houset† in *Evesham*, a third in *Benigwithe*, and all those bake-houses in the valley in which customers are used to bake bread; the tithes of hay of *William de Tiwe*, of *Roger Alard*, and of *Ernald Cambralang*; half a mark from the land of *John de Kent*, in *Evesham*; four shillings

* There is much obscurity and confusion in this part of the original, which extends a considerable way. I have been obliged sometimes to alter the mode of punctuation to make any sense at all of it.

† The following *memoranda* are to be found in Latin, in Dr. Nash's collections. [Vol. 1. p. 420.]

“Mem.—That it appears, from a visitation held at *Evesham*, to have been an ancient custom in that town that the lord Abbot of *Evesham* for the time being now has, and all his predecessors always have had, diverse mills in *Evesham*: and that the almoner of the said Abbey for the time being had, agreeable to the same custom, two common *bake-houses* there: at which mills and *bake-houses* all the tenants and inhabitants of the said town are bound to grind their corn and bake their bread.”

“Mem.—That *Richard* the lord Abbot did, in the ninth of the reign of Henry V. repair the malt-mill at *Evesham*, and made there a new wheel with other reparations, to the amount of twelve marks.”

“Item

shillings from the shops of *Adam Credan*, in the High-street, near to the shops of St. Mary; half a mark from certain other shops near to another of St. Mary; twelve-pence from the lands of *Cramfot*, with an iron-shop or smithery upon them; six-pence from the lands of *Godefrid Bagart*; twenty-two-pence from the lands of *Rogel*, near another bake-house; the whole rents of the lands called the spital-lands, near the bridge, excepting only eight-pence belonging to the pittanciary; twenty-pence from the lands of *Kondulf* the weaver, of *Feudo Streche*; forty shillings from the lands which *Isabella*, the daughter of *Henry King*, gave; two shillings from the lands of *Henry de Piplinton*; two shillings from the lands called le *Burunno*; sixteen-pence from the lands of *Richard Eadmund*; twelve-pence from the lands of *Bonpain*; forty-pence from the lands of *Stephen* the priest; six-pence from the lands of *Lilie*; twelve-pence from the lands of *Richard Juvenis*; (or the younger;) the same from the lands of *Murielle de Strigul*; and six-pence annually from *R. Ywain*, and his heirs, for the liberty of cultivating *Chiteham*. — In Gloucestershire there belong to the almery four shillings from the lands occupied by *John Croume*, which *Adam* the monk brought into our possession; eight shillings from the lands of *Botild*, which were given with *Robert* the monk; twelve-pence from the lands occupied by *Roger Sewi*, which *Adam Botild* gave us; and forty shillings from the lands which were occupied by *Efegar*. There belong also to it two marks from the pension of sixty shillings from the church of *Ombresley*, namely: twenty shillings for the relief of the poor in the Lord's supper; half a mark for the anniversary* of *Randulf*; for that Abbot assigned these two marks to the almery,

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as

"Item Mem. — That the same Abbot, in the tenth year of Henry V. repaired and caused to be renewed, on the eastern side of *Evesham*, one mill with all its apparatus, from top to bottom, with an entire reparation of the flood-gates belonging to it; together with some reparation *de la Zare*, [quære, what? — or whether misprinted?] in the same place."

The privilege concerning bake-houses was confirmed in the thirty-fifth year of Edward I. on account of one *William Tettebury's* setting up an oven in his own house.

* The anniversaries at Evesham were very numerous, and are particularised by Stevens at considerable length. [Appen. p. 141.] But as the account of them contains little more than the assignment

as may be found in a written account in the chapter-house concerning the good works of the Abbot *Randulf*. For when the same Abbot had built six mills on the manors of the Abbey, he assigned to the almshouse, in lieu of the tithes of the said mills, the mill of *Aldington*, which he himself had bought; from which, with the crofts and houses appertaining to it, the almoner, at the time the donation was made, received annually sixteen shillings. From the same village the almoner receives also ninety eggs. He ought moreover to receive the tithe of all the bread baked, bought, or delivered out below the Abbey-gate. The care of the monk's garden properly belongs to him, that from thence he may supply pottage and broths for the refreshment of the

assignment of certain rents to the celebration of these anniversaries, (a kind of reading of which we have perhaps too much already,) I shall content myself with the insertion of the following charter, relating more particularly to the *customs* of this Abbey.

“ To all the faithful in Christ by whom this present writing shall be seen or heard:—*William*, by divine permission Abbot of the Monastery of *Evesham*, eternal health in the Lord.—Adverting to the indigence of the beloved sons and brethren the prior and rest of the Convent, as some relief to that indigence, we grant for ourselves and our successors, and assign for ever to the prior and our Convent, one messuage, with a garden and close, in the village of *Baddefseye*, and two carucates of arable land, with the tithes of every kind arising from them, and with the meadow and pasture land in the common fields of the same place belonging to the above land, all which we acquired for our uses from *John de Wellefseye*, knight, and now assign to the *chamberlain* of our aforesaid Monastery for the time being, for ever. We will and ordain that the said *chamberlain* shall, in consideration of the aforesaid emoluments, and of others assigned over to his office, pay yearly on the feast of the purification of the blessed Mary, to the prior and rest of the Convent, the sum of ten pounds sterling, over and above what he was accustomed to pay them. And that the ten annual pounds which the said prior and Convent were accustomed to receive against the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, from the *chamberlain*, *pro cursu coopertorium*, they shall now receive annually at the feast of the purification of the blessed Mary. The said prior and rest of the Convent are allowed to convert the aforesaid sum to their use in purchasing vestments for ten of the brethren; which vestments and clothing are to be delivered out yearly, at the festival of Easter, proceeding according to seniority. We also will and ordain that, in some proper part of the aforesaid garden, there be from the common purse erected edifices for the recreation and solace of the sick monks; [*minutorum*]; and that in the same garden they have full liberty to walk for their exercise and amusement; and that both they and the other monks, (with the licence of the prior or his vice-gerent,) may, when they wish to eat there, receive from *both kitchens* their allowance in the same proportion with those monks who remain in the Convent.—The said prior and

Convent

the poor, in *collecta cervisie ad secundum cibum vel potum*. This official ought likewise to receive, on the day of All Souls, one feme of corn from the granary; the same quantity on the death of any one of the Evesham monks; and yearly from the land of *William de Ponte*, in *Alincester*, nine-pence.

To the *refectory* belong the small tithes of *Wikewane*, *Baddefeie*, and *Alde-tone*, for the reparation of the pumps, and the furnishing cups, measures, glafs-windows, salt-fellars, and other utensils; together with twelve lamps and their oil: concerning all which he shall be responsible to the prior, whose office it is in chapter to appoint him. There belongs also to him what is left of the ale after our first meal,* and every day six measures [*juste*] from the cellar; out of which he shall give a pittance to the Convent after collation on the Lord's-day, and once in every week at the time the hymns to St. Mary are sung; and he shall moreover furnish a potation after our collation, where there is not one before it. He must also supply for many other expences and regulations concerning those monks who have been blooded or are infirm, from the same fund. As often as our potation shall be made after *noon*,† [or the ninth hour] the refectorer shall be allowed two measures of ale from the cellar.

To

Convent have moreover of their free will granted to us, that when we shall have departed from this life, every year on the day of our anniversary, every monk that has been ordained to the priesthood in the aforesaid Monastery shall be bound to celebrate each one a mass, *cum aliis orationum suffragiis*, in true charity for our soul. And because the memory of any one is more deeply imprinted on the minds of his fellow men in proportion to the benefits they have received from him, that our memory may not speedily perish, we by these presents assign and make over for ever to the day of our anniversary four pounds and ten shillings of annual rents acquired by us in *Merstowe*, viz. sixty shillings toward the relief of the poor; and thirty shillings for the refreshment of the Convent: committing the custody, receipt, and distribution of the above-named rents to the *almoner* of the aforesaid Convent for the time being.—In testimony of which we have set our seal, and the seal of the chapter to these presents. Given in the chapter-house, on the octaves of the Apostles Peter and Paul, in the year of our Lord M,CCC,XXVIII.

* *Collecta cervisie post primum cibum*. If I have mistaken the sense of this and other similar passages, I confess I know not how to rectify the mistake.

† *Nona* in Convents was the *ninth canonical hour*, or three o'clock; when the monks dined, which was never till after *noon* song. Their day began at six o'clock.

To the *infirmarium* belongs *Buuntone*, together with the wood there; half a mark from the cleared woodland at *Sanford*, with all other its appurtenancies. The *infirmarer* ought also to be allowed one sow, with proper food for her during one whole year, *vel duos porcos ad plancherum, et unum truncum de celebrario contra natale, qualem fert una Biga curie*.* This official has moreover the fulling-mill at *Burton*, with one virgate of land; forage for one horse; together with a certain quantity of straw to heat water for washing clothes: from which, together with other appurtenancies, the *infirmarer* receives to the value of three marks annually. But, on account of the many tedious and burdensome customs of that office, the Abbot shall make up to him these three marks from another fund, when he shall have properly decided on the means. There belong also to the same official the two mills at *Stowe*, from whence he receives sixteen shillings; two shillings from the land of *Towi* in the same place; two shillings from an estate near to the above; and twenty-pence from the land of *Andrea* in the same town. In *Evesham*, twenty-pence from the lands of *Richard Sparwe*; eighteen-pence from the lands of *Galfrid* the miller; and forty-pence from the land of *John de Kent*. At *Penwortham*,† from the land of *Stephen de More*, two shillings; eighteen-pence

* I am obliged in this place as well as in the former ones, when any thing is remarkably obscure, to trespass on the reader's patience by inserting the passage as originally written.

† Beside *Penwortham*, this Abbey had two other dependent cells, *Othenesey* or *Odenzee*, in Denmark, before mentioned, and *Alcester*, in Warwickshire, which was afterward consolidated with it. A communication of privileges likewise subsisted between this foundation and those of *Whitby*, *York*, and *Malmesbury*; concerning the latter of which monasteries an agreement or convention is preserved by Stevens: and as it relates to the customs of both houses may be worth perusal in English.

“ This is the convention made between the Abbot of M. *Robert II.* and the Abbot of E. *Roger II.* and the Convent of both places:—That as often as the Abbot or any of the fraternity shall mutually arrive at either place, they shall have full liberty of entering the chapter, and shall partake as freely of all benefits both temporal and spiritual, as if he were a monk of that house. If it shall happen that any member of either church shall, through the commission of any excesses, be obliged to take refuge in the other, he shall be committed only to the *general custody*. [Or, I suppose, confined *within the limits of the Monastery*.] If any one, by the suggestion of the devil or
his

pence from the land of *Robert Antigonia*, at *Hoton*; twelve-pence from the land of *Robert Sureis*; fix-pence from a certain estate in *Farinton*; twelve-pence from the fishery of *Robert Buffel*; half a mark from *Sulleston*; and one mark for the expences of bleeding,* which the Abbot *Randulf* gave from the church of *Huniburne*.

To the *pittanciary* there belong ten marks from the new made estate at *Evesham*. Twelve pints of honey from *Ambresleye*; twenty-five shillings from *Ullebererwe*;

his own depraved will, shall leave his proper residence without leave of absence, he shall be allowed refuge in the other: and if he afterwards repents and makes proper satisfaction, he may by the Abbot be reconciled to his own foundation, and restored to it; unless his fault be such as deserves deprivation. — For the dead of either house the following customs shall be observed. For a dead Abbot one *tricennale* shall be performed; three masses shall be celebrated by some one who is a priest; by those of an inferior order one psaltery shall be said through; and in the refectory an annual pittance shall be dealt out. — For a dead monk are the following regulations. Having heard of his death, if the brief shall arrive in proper time it shall immediately be read; and absolution being given, *Verba mea*, with a *Dirige*, shall be on the instant performed. On the ensuing holiday mass shall be solemnly celebrated for him in the Convent, three masses being performed for him by each priest, and the psaltery is to be said through by the inferior orders. An allowance also, the same as is usual for living persons, shall for thirty days be demanded for his soul. The names both of Abbots and monks departed shall be inscribed in the martyrology in both foundations. That this convention may remain firm and inviolate, the seal of both Convents is affixed thereto."

The convention with *Othenesey* which is also preserved, [Dugdale, vol. i. p. 150.] is similar to the above; but seems more severe on the article of offenders and runaways, who are not to be received either there or at *Evesham*. — "For brethren departed the following rules are, at both places, to be observed. The anniversary shall be inscribed in the martyrology; and food for thirty days is to be allowed. For any of the officials thirty plenary offices are to be sung in the Convent during a whole year; and each of the fraternity are to say thirty masses, or ten psalteries. As soon as the brief shall arrive, *the table shall be beaten on*, a vigil shall be sung, and the trumpet sounded."—This charter or epistle is signed by *Riculf*, *Regni*, and *Illuch*, all bishops.

* The following curious and whimsical apportionment of the church rents of *Ambresleye* and *Baddeby* is from Stevens. [Appen. p. 132. copied from the Cotton MS. Nero D. 3. fol. 243.]

Memorandum:—That when the lord *William de Cheriton*, Abbot of the Monastery of *Evesham*, and son of *John Hereward*, of the town of *Tettebury*, (whose brother was Abbot of *Cirfeter*,
and

Ulleberewe; one mark from the church of *Hildendune*; one mark from the rents of *Penwitham*; half a mark from the mill of the feneschall at *Sanford*; forty-

and whose sister Abbess of *Lackoc*,) some time since granted and assigned for himself and his successors for ever, the churches of *Ombresley* and *Baddeby*, with all their rights and appurtenances, to the prior and rest of his Convent, to be disposed of and expended as it might seem best to them; (as plainly appears from his letters written on that occasion) which churches the aforesaid Abbot acquired legally and canonically for the uses of his Convent for ever.—Brother *Peter de Wyhe*, prior of *Evesham*, willing that the profits of the churches aforesaid should be disposed of and expended according to the Abbot's intentions, in full chapter, in the chapter-house of *Evesham*, on the Thursday next after the festival of Christmas, viz. on the festival of St. Egwin bishop, and in the year of our Lord 1344, did, with the unanimous consent and assent of his whole Convent, dispose and ordain, that on each year for ever, on the festival of the ascension of our Lord, twenty-four pounds of silver money from the aforesaid churches should, in equal portions, be distributed by the burfar of the said Convent between the prior and rest of the Convent, for providing spices and other necessities; and other four and twenty pounds, in like manner, on the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*. Beside this, that six pounds and eighteen shillings of silver money from the rents of the above churches should be annually for ever divided by the same burfar among those monks that are let blood, for *defraying their expences in blood-letting*. Also, that the said prior and Convent should more willingly keep and preserve a perpetual memory of the above-named Abbot in their masses and prayers, the said prior, with the unanimous assent and consent of the whole Convent, has, beyond the accustomed allowance, added two days for the recreation and amusement of those who are let blood, at each of their blood-lettings, viz. Wednesday and Thursday: so that those who are let blood may at each blood-letting, on the Sunday, after celebration of the greater mass, ask leave of the prior or of some one else in the choir, in the usual way; having obtained which, without leave of any one else, those who have been let blood may absent themselves from the choir and the chapter-house, from that time until the beginning of the greater mass, on the Friday next ensuing; whether they remain at home or elsewhere: except on the solemn festivals celebrated in their copes. What remains from the above church-rents, (excepting the sum premised, namely: fifty-four pounds and eighteen shillings,) shall be deposited in the treasury of the aforesaid Convent for the maintenance and repairs of the above-named churches; and the said prior and Convent have a right to expend it either to that use, or to the support of the *Evesham* church, as they may find expedient.

Moreover:—When the same Abbot had acquired and assigned certain annual rents of nine marks to the almoner at *Evesham*, to supply a salary for two chaplains to celebrate masses in the great church of *Evesham*, for the soul of *Walter of Gloucester*, from the profits of the manor of *Batlington*, to be paid to the same at the four usual quarters, in equal portions, it was the will and intention of the said Abbot, and of *Walter*, in their life-time, that such chaplains should be provided who were skilled in and knew well how to perform the hymns in honour of the blessed Virgin

forty-two-pence from the land between the estate of *Henry King*, and that of *Alexander Fossard*; and twelve-pence from the land of *John Portar*.*

To the sustenance and relief of the brethren in the *infirmarium* there belong two marks from *Wroteflewe* and *Linintone*; from the manciple also ten shillings,
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which

Virgin Mary, in the chapel dedicated to her, where the body of *Walter* himself now lies buried.

The aforesaid prior considering that chaplains of this kind might be better provided by the keeper of the said chapel than by the *almoner*, with the unanimous consent of his whole Convent, did, in the place and on the day and year before specified, ordain that the almoner for the time being should every year in future, at the accustomed four terms, pay to the keeper of the chapel of the blessed Mary the four abovementioned nine marks, and the keeper himself should provide chaplains of this kind sufficiently skilled in singing, and of good behaviour. And, if the aforesaid keeper should negligently perform the same, the payment of the said nine marks should revert to its former mode, namely: that the two said chaplains should annually be paid four marks each for their services, by the hands of the *almoner*.

* The list of days on which extraordinary *pittances* were by this official dealt out to the Convent I am obliged to give in the original terms in which I received it from the British Museum. [Cotton MS. Vespasian B. XXIV. fol. 1.] Besides being in some parts untranslatable, in one or two places, (owing to the difficulty of making out these old MSS.) we are constrained to content ourselves with a sort of fac-simile of the letters; without any possibility of getting at the sense of the passage.

“ *Caritates* primorum per annum.

In nativitate Domini.

In festivitate S *Egwini*.

In circumcissione Domini : hoc est de Pitanciariis.

In Epiphania Domini. De S. *Vincento* dim marc. per manus Sacristæ. [sic]

In purificatione S. *Mariæ*.

which the kitchens set apart for charitable uses; five marks from the sacrist, which that official gave annually for his board and entertainment, and which the Abbots formerly used unjustly to extort from him. Abbot *Randulf* however perceiving that, according to the privileges of the church and the statutes of the chapter general, the sacristy, like the other offices, ought to

In anniversario *S. Wlfini*, cum pitancia: hoc est Sacristæ. Ad utramque collationem potus d'cett. [sic]

In Annunciatione Dominica.

In Ramis Palmarum.

In Cena Domini, et ad collationem dimidiam caritatem.

In Pascha Domini.

Dominica qua cantatur *Misericordia Domini*: hoc est caritas Decani.

In festivitate *S. Johannis* ante portam Latinam. Vinum cum tribus ferderis.

In ascensione Domini.

In festivitate *S. Wistani*.

In Pentecoste.

In festivitate *S. Trinitatis*.

In festivitate *S. Odleri* dim. marc. per manus Sacristæ de ecclesia de *Bacerton*. [sic]

In festivitate *S. Johannis Baptistæ*.

In festivitate Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

In crastino translationis *S. Benedicti*, vinum cum pitancia: per manus Sacristæ panni.

In festivitate *S. Mariæ Magdalenæ*.

In transfiguratione Dni.

In assumptione *S. Mariæ*.

In anniversario *Reginaldi* Abbatis cum pitancia.

In nativitate *S. Mariæ*.

In festivitate *S. Egwini*: caritas et dimid. prope hospites.

In exaltatione *S. Crucis*.

In festivitate *Reliquarum* ad vinum et pitantia, pè bartf. [sic] per manus Sacristæ.

In festivitate *S. Michaelis*.

In festivitate omnium Sanctorum.

[In festivitate omnium animarum cum pitancia.]

In festivitate *S. Martini*: hec est caritas Abbatis de *Bradewell*.

In anniversario *Adæ* Abbatis cum pitantia.

In festo *S. Katherinæ*: hec est Cantoris.

In conceptione *B. Mariæ*.

In anniversario { [H. Prioris, secundum patentem terræ Prioris de *Beningworth*.]
Rondolphi Abbatis, cum vino et pitantiis.

to be free and unburdened, renounced this yearly payment and all other exactions for himself and successors for ever; ordaining moreover, that these rents of the sacristy which the Abbots used to appropriate should, like the rents of every other office, be freely expended in the accommodation and utility of the monks in general. — Left the *pittanciary* should be destitute of

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Caritates *Medonium* per annum.

In festo S. *Fabiani et Sebastiani*.

In festo S. *Agnæ* virginis.

[In festo S. *Vincentii*.] In festo S. *Wulfstani* pro sancto victu. [sic]

In conversione S. *Pauli*.

In cathedra S. *Petri*.

In festo S. *Gregorii*.

[In translatione S. *Benedicti*.]

In festo Apost. *Philippi et Jacobi*.

In anniversario Regum *Adelredi, Kenredi, et Offæ*: cum potu ad utrumque Abbatem de cella.

In festo S. *Petri* ad vincula.

In festo S. *Laurentii*.

In vigilia assumptionis B. M. hec est de pitantiis.

In occ. [sic] S. *Credani*.

In festo S. *Bartholomei*.

In decollatione S. *Johannis Bapt.*

In dedicatione Criptarum.

[In festo Reliquiarum.] In oct. S. *Eagwini*.

In festo S. *Mathei*.

[In festo S. *Edmundi*.] In versatione *Thomæ* Abbatis.

[In festo S. *Oswaldi*.] In translatione S. *Oswaldi*.

In festo S. *Dionisii*.

In festo S. *Crispini et Crispiniani*.

In festo S. Apost. *Symonis et Judæ*.

In albis die Animarum.

In festo S. *Hildæ*. In festo S. *Admundi*.

In festo S. *Andree*.

In festo S. *Nicholai*.

In festo S. *Thomæ* Apost.

In

pasture for his sheep, oxen, and pigs, prior *Thomas* gave to this official, (in aid of his own anniverfary,) a wood in *Echelewz*, which he had purchafed of *Peter de Lewz*; throughout which wood the pittanciary might have a free run in acorn feafon for his pigs, as far as the gate towards *Bordflewe*. He has alfo a right of common pasture for all kinds of cattle round that vicinity; and this equally free with that which the facrift poffeffes at *Lewz*, and the infir-marer at *Buuntone*. — The fame prior *Thomas* alfo affigned the eftate at *Mer-flowe*, which he bought of *Hugh de Warwick*, to defray the expences of his own anniverfary; as alfo that near to it which he purchafed of the daughter of *Randulf*, the fergeant. — For the due celebration of the feftival of S. John *ante portam Latinam*, Abbot *Randulf* affigned twenty fhillings out of the penfion of fixty arifing from the church of *Ambrefleye*. This which the Abbots once gave to their clerks, [*clericis*,] the legate made over to his chaplain; but, being afterward applied to other ufes, the Abbot appropriated one mark, from the above penfion, for the expences of his own anniverfary. Abbot *Adam* had before affigned ten fhillings from the church rents at *Bradwelle* to the anniverfary of the Abbot *Reginald*, and ten more fhillings from the fame rents to his own anniverfary.

To the *kitchen* there belong the third fifh-pool* beyond the fountain of St. Egwin, and alfo the old town and market-place of *Eovefham*; from which
the

In fefto S. *Stephani*.

In fefto Innocentium.

In fefto S. *Thomæ* Martyris.

In tribus diebus in hebdomada Pafchæ, et octavis.

In tribus diebus Pentacoftes.

In tribus diebus in affumptione, et octavis.

Item in omnibus feptem feftivitatibus de colla. [sic] tam in vigilia quam in die.

N. B. All that is included between brackets has in the original a line drawn through it as if meant to be erafed.

* *Vivarium*:—probably here means a fifh-pool, in which fenfe it is fometimes ufed in the claffic authors. Many of thefe ftews may be feen at this day near the fite of the Abbley, though now entirely dried up.

the *maniple* receives every Sabbath-day* five shillings and three half-pence; and annually, at the beginning of Lent, four thousand salted fishes.† To this office belong also a mill near the bridge, another at *Hampton*, with all its appurtenances; from both which every Sabbath-day it receives three shillings, and sixty sticks of eels every year. The tithes of the above mills, and of the hay of the meadows which belong both to them and certain other mills, viz. those of *Evesham*, *Hampton*, *Huffeham*, *Foke-mulne*, *Twisford*, *Chadelburi*, *Baddefeie*, and *Wikewane*, all are assigned to the kitchen. These tithes are appropriated to the furnishing pickles‡ and brine for pickling during the season of Lent. The town of *Stowe* and its market also belong to the kitchen,§ from whence it

* By *dies Sabbati*, *Saturday* appears to be intended in these old writings. The note concerning the consecration of altars, near the beginning of this chapter, plainly evinces this; where it is evidently distinguished from the *dies dominica*, or Lord's day. How the *Sabbath* of the *Jews* came to be noticed as such in a Christian fraternity, I am unable to determine; nor do I remember to have seen any notice taken elsewhere of this remarkable circumstance.

† *Alletium*:—probably something of the *herring* kind. It certainly means some kind of fish that they were accustomed to pickle.

‡ *Allec*.

§ This useful office was, as we might expect, uncommonly rich and well provided for. Its revenue, or rather that part of its income here specified, in money, would amount at least to one thousand two hundred pounds of our money. But besides the rents mentioned here, there was a considerable contribution levied on the principal officials of the Convent merely for *spices*, an account of which has been preserved by Stevens; and as it contains some other miscellaneous information I have translated and will here insert it.

“ FOR SPICES.

From the Abbot two marks; from the prior twenty shillings; from the prior of *Penwortham* two marks; from the sacrist two marks; from the chamberlain two marks; from the cellarer two marks; from the infirmarer twenty shillings; from the gardener twenty shillings; from the maniple twenty shillings; from the refectorer six shillings and eight-pence.

Mem:—That all offerings to the great altar, as well those of gold as of silver, belong to the sacrist; except at the time when any monk celebrates his first mass, or reads the gospel for the first time,

it receives every Sunday four shillings ; sixty shillings from *Morton* ; the same from *Sanford* ; four pounds from *Withelakesfor* ; from the mill of that place twenty-four shillings annually, and twelve sticks of eels ; twenty shillings from the mills of the fenescall at *Sanford* ; twenty-five shillings and forty sticks of eels from the mills at *Chedelbury* and their appurtenancies ; twenty-eight shillings and forty sticks of eels from the mills of *Twiford* and *Aldintone*, with their appurtenancies ; ten shillings from the mills at *Offeham* ; half a mark from *Foke-mulne* ; from the mill at *Wikewan* now only eight shillings. From *Wodefe* sixty shillings belong to the kitchen, and from the fishery at *Ambresleye* twenty-three shillings.—In *Gloucester* from the estate of *Robert Botild* three shillings and one halfpenny belong also to it ; and two shillings and one pound

time. All offerings moreover to every other altar in the church, (excepting that in the chapel of St. Mary,) both those that are made for the living and the dead, are the property of the sacrist.

It was decreed in full chapter before *Roger Zatton*, that all those who reside in the cemetery or within the limits of the Abbey should, at their death, pay a mortuary ; and also those who have not previously inhabited the town for a year and a day.

John, Abbot of *Evesham*, assigned to the sacristy of the church of *Evesham*, six acres of arable land which he had purchased of Master *John de Lutleton*, of the parish of *South-Lutleton*, together with their tithes ; in the year of our Lord 1316.

Mem.—That *Thomas de Marleborough* * * * * * acquired and afterwards, with the consent of the Abbot and Convent in full chapter, decreed, that from that time all those tenants in the vale of *Evesham* that paid an heriot, according to the custom of the manor, should, (as is specified in the customary book of the lord Abbot,) ever after pay to the aforesaid lord Abbot as their heriot, the best animal of their live stock, viz. of horses, mules, oxen, or cows, but not of sheep. And if they have no such animal, then the best *dead* beast. Moreover that they should pay the second best animal to the sacrist of the Monastery for the time being, for an heriot, or rather mortuary. Also that the same rule should be observed concerning mortuaries in general, according to the ancient custom of the vale of *Evesham*." [Appen. p. 135. from Nero D. 3. fol. 245.]

The latter part of this last memorandum will serve to explain a sentence in the paper of "the good works of prior Thomas," concerning which I was in some doubt while translating it. The odd phrase *secundo meliorem* means nothing more or less than *second best*. [See Chap. II. p. 27.]

pound of pepper from an estate and a bake-house at *Winchelcumb*.—In *Evesham* from some land in *Brutylrete* one pound of pepper. From the lands of *Reginald Fitz-William* annually half a mark; from *Penwortham* four marks, a certain quantity [*summa*] of salmon, and two thousand salted fishes; [*alletium*;] from every carucate of land in the vale of *Evesham* that belongs to the lordship, excepting *Aldintone*, annually three hundred eggs; and from every manor three-pence to furnish dishes, [*discos*,] and twelve pots. [*olle*.] From *Bradwelle* ninety eggs, three-pence, and twelve pots. [*olle*.] Also on each day the *manciple* should be allowed forage for one horse, with bran likewise from the granary. He ought moreover to have two porkers *ad Plangentum*; and, as often as he buys fish at the market of *Evesham* for the whole Convent, he ought to be allowed from the buttery bread and a measure of ale for the refreshment of those who sell the fish. For every kind of food that requires a sauce in which ale is used, he should be allowed ale from the cellar, and cheese once in the day; to purchase which, (in case it should not be provided him from the cellar,) the Abbot *Randulf* assigned the profits of the chapel of *Bretfordtone*. The *manciple* shall also have, on the seven principal festivals, seven femes of corn from the granary, *ad frixinas*, and, on the feast of St. John, *ante portam Latinam*, one allowance; [*prebendarium*;] another on the feast of St. Adulf; a third on Septuagesima; a fourth for puddings on the day of *Parasceve*;* three at Easter *ad faciendum falcones*; and as many on rogation days for the same purpose.

To the *chamberlain's* office belong *Malgarebury* and *Swele*, as they anciently did; and, instead of *Burntone*, *Tatelestroppe* is now assigned to this office, and the Abbot has *Burntone*:—with this proviso however, that the Abbot, according to this new allotment, shall receive neither vestments† nor board-money

* Quære:—Whether *Paraclete*, or *Whitunday*?

† Stevens has preserved an allotment of certain rents to purchase winter boots for the fraternity, out of which two shillings were allowed to each member; excepting the prior of *Penwortham* and the chamberlain. I find also from a bull of pope Innocent IV. that the *Evelham* monks, having represented that their Monastery was situated in a very cold and windy spot, (which

money from the *chamberlain* as he did before. For this manor, with all its appurtenancies, was assigned for ever to furnish vestments to the monks. The *chamberlain* ought moreover to have daily an allowance for one servant, and support for one horse from the granary, with forage from the grange, in the same proportion with the servants and horses of the Abbot.

To the support of the *fabric of the church** and the *cloister*, with its adjacencies, there belong fifteen marks from the church of *Ambresleye*; for which (if

(which by the way does not seem altogether the truth,) were allowed to wear a sort of *cap*, made however as conformable to the general dress of the order as possible. A copy of this bull is still to be seen in the British Museum. [Harl. MS. 3763. 99. b.]

* From the Harleian MS. 3763. in the British Museum, I was favoured with the following paper concerning a contribution to be levied on the Convent for the reparation of several of its buildings. The original is in Latin, and is dated 1295.

“ In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen. In the year of our Lord 1295, and on the ides of February, the Abbot and Convent being assembled in chapter, John, Abbot of *Evesham* and of the Convent there, having a special regard to the finishing his chapter-house then just begun, and also to the reparation of the dormitory, refectory, cloister, and infirmary; and farther considering that the common fund of the house, to which in matters of this kind chief recourse was to be made, was then very slender and nearly exhausted; with provident deliberation and unanimous consent they chose and appointed five of the fraternity, viz. *John Strech*, *Robert de Reckeford*, *Walter de Blockeleye*, *Adam de Hauleye*, and *William de Bengeworth*, giving to the said persons full power of providing and ordering how and from whence works of this kind might be best and easiest executed, and the indigence of the community in future be alleviated. The prior and rest of the Convent granted, and *bona fide* promised, that they would trust to the provident care and ordering of the said five brethren, and would hold their proceedings good and lawful. The aforefaid five brethren, having then consulted with the Abbot and with certain of the fraternity who were chiefly skilled in such matters, resolved that on every year, at the four accustomed quarterly terms, forty shillings should be set apart and paid from the priorship. Ten marks from the chamberlain's office. Sixteen marks from the sacristy. Ten marks from the priorship of *Penwortham*. Forty shillings from the *hospitalary*. [An office I find no mention of elsewhere.] Twenty shillings from the infirmary. Two shillings from the chantry. Ten shillings from the deanery. Twelve shillings from the altar of the blessed Virgin. Three shillings from the gardener's office. The aforefaid five brethren ordained also, that all the rents of the pittance should be given up for this contribution, and those expences that official should incur in collations and

(if by any neglect the money should be left unpaid,) the necessary repairs must be otherwise supplied from the finances of the Abbot. The tithes of *William Beorin*, at *Offeham*, are also set apart to the same uses, together with the smitheries of the same village; the predications of the Abbey; (or profits, I presume, arising from the preaching of any member of it;) and the bequests of the faithful, or any other gratuitous profits that may arise.*

To the *cell* provided for the accommodation of *strangers* there belong the
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and other necessary charges should be made up to him. Likewise that all the rents of the burfary of the Convent, all bequests to the *martilogium*, (sic) and those made towards the repairs of the church, should be contributed to the same purpose: excepting only such as were necessary to the expence of that office. That all offerings to the cross, excepting those made on the two festivals of the holy cross, which belong to the sacristy, should be in like manner contributed. Moreover that all offerings at the tomb of St. Wlfin, and those made at the gate of the church, as well in wax as in money, should be collected for the same uses: excepting only the necessary expences for supplying the lights. To collect, receive, and faithfully to expend all which, the above five brethren ordained that two monks should be by the prior and Convent, in chapter, deputed, who should demand, collect, receive, and deposit in the common chest of the treasury this contribution, keeping it under their care and the prior's key, and should afterward, at the will and disposal of the prior and rest of the Convent, deliver it out and pay it away. And because it seemed to the aforesaid five brethren that each of the offices to be taxed were, *communibus annis*, competent both to the contribution and their own support, they ordained, that if any one of the fraternity who had the care of any of the aforesaid offices to be taxed, should of his own accord, and contrary to the will and assent of the Convent, in any way diminish, detract from, or detain any part of the contribution thus provided to the great utility of the church, (which may God avert!) the Abbot, at the requisition of the Convent, may without delay remove from his office such official, whosoever he be, as an unworthy, useless, and improvident guardian of the property of the church, and by advice of the Convent may appoint in his place another more worthy person. — This provision or ordonnance the aforesaid Abbot has accepted and ratified in all things; to the greater confirmation of which his seal, together with that of the Convent, is affixed to it. — Given in the chapter-house of *Evesham* on the day and year aforesaid.

* It is unpleasant to throw out sarcasms on a body of men who I firmly believe were, taken generally, both good and pious: but a modern Wittol would here certainly remark, — that, while the good fathers provided bountifully for their *kitchen*, they left their *church* almost entirely to *accidental* bequests. Thus they could never want the pretext of poverty to excite the charitable munificence of the laity.

small tithes of the three *Lutlintons*, to purchase towels, cups, and basons for accidental guests.

These are the Customs and Regulations of the *Evesham* Convent, as appointed in ancient times, and to be enforced by the *cellarer general*. This official ought every day to furnish for the refectory seventy-two loaves of bread for the monks, each of which is to be of the weight of five shillings,* and of which every monk is to have one. The prior is to have two, (except at those times when he shall eat with the Abbot,) and one also at supper, together with a measure [*justa*] of ale, unless he shall sup with the Abbot, or in the refectory. Nevertheless he that shall sit at the high table as guardian of the order shall have two, one of the same sort as those provided for the Abbot,† and one cup of the Abbot's wine. He who shall have celebrated the greater mass shall have two. The reader also, the manciple, and servants, shall have one mixed, and in winter a whole measure. *Eleemosinarij autem septem pro decima, et tres ad mandatum, et duos ad tricennales currentes percipiet.* Each of the fraternity shall every day receive two measures of ale, each of which shall contain two pittance; of which pittance six make up a pint‡ royal. Beside this the prior shall have one *ad novum tractum*, and he who shall sit at the dish§ one cup at dinner, and another in the evening. The *cellarer* must also supply salt, fuel for the fire, materials|| both for the food and beverage of the monks, and likewise for two puddings, viz. one of them to be made of a strike of dried or a full measure of new beans from the

* As told in copper money doubtless.

† "Scilicet unam de pasta Abbatis, et unum cyphum vini de Abbate."

‡ *Sextarium regis.*

§ Probably to carve for the rest, if *discus* the word in the original may here be rendered *dish*. It might however, I believe, be rendered *desk*: as it was usual for some one to read portions of scripture during their meals.

|| *Summagium*:—a word that seems to be in these old writings used in a very extended sense. *Summagium facere*, and *summagiant*, are words that frequently occur in the account of the tenants and their tenures, in the foregoing chapter; but I must confess myself ignorant of their exact meaning, both there and in the present instance.

the granary, and another to be made of twelve loaves of monk's bread, or of one strike of wheat from the granary; and this for every day, except in the time of Quadragesima, when the monks are to be allowed two femes of beans from *Huniburne*, to make puddings throughout all Lent; as also twelve femes of oatmeal to make gruel on the fourth and sixth holiday throughout the season; and meal for pottage every day in the same season. The monks ought moreover to have at the seven principal festivals seven *cyffolles* of wheat from the granary, *ad wastellos*; and on the translation of St. Egwin an eighth, as well for supper as for dinner; and one sciffol *ad wastellos* at the feast of St. John before the Latin gate; one on the feast of *St. Odulf*; one on the day of All Souls; one on the anniversary of the blessed *Wlfin*; one on the anniversary of the kings *Ethelred*, *Kenred*, and *Offa*; one on the anniversary of Abbot *Reginald*; one on the anniversary of Abbot *Adam*; and one on the anniversary of Abbot *Randulf*. On the advent of our Lord, the monks shall be allowed fourteen femes, *ad formittas*; as many against Christmas; and the same quantity in Lent, at Easter, Pentecost, the assumption of the blessed Mary, and the translation of St. Egwin: all to be received from the granaries. The monks ought also to have from the cellar, on every Sabbath-day, a pittance for their collation, *ad mandatum*; as also for every collation at the festivals, as well those that are celebrated in copes, as in albs;* and that both on the eve and the day itself: excepting

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only

* The following account of the various dresses worn at different services in *Evesham Abbey*, is among the curiosities obtained from the British Museum. [Harl. MS. 3763. p. 115. b.]

" Mem.—That the custom of this church is, in all the festivals of the blessed Mary, to use a *white vestment*. On the eve of All Saints, of the nativity of our Lord, in the supper of our Lord, and on the eves of Easter and Pentecost, a *red* one. On the nativity itself we use a *large black chesable* at the greater mass. On the same day we go to mass at *cock-crowing*. On Easter-day, Ascension-day, and the day of Pentecost, for the greater mass, a *white chesable embroidered with gold* is to be used. On the feast of St. Egwin, on the day of All Souls, and on the anniversary of St. Wlfin and of the kings, a *lesser black chesable* is to be worn."

Another memorandum that follows, relating likewise to the customs of this Abbey, I must insert in the original language, for reasons that will be evident to those who may peruse it.

" Cum

only the collations of the seven principal feasts, for then the pittanciary is to furnish them. They ought moreover to have a pittance allowed from the *cellar* for dinner, on each of the octaves of the principal festivals, at least of such as have octaves; excepting however those days on which we wear our copes, for then they are found by the pittanciary. But for their collation on each day of the above octaves they shall receive it from the *cellar*; and this from Christmas to the Epiphany. On every day in *miseri cordiis regularibus* every two brethren shall have one measure from the cellar; but after being let blood they shall have one for dinner, and another at supper. He who shall have been cupped [*ventosatus*] shall have on that day only one measure from the cellar. The servant who shall let the monks blood shall have both bread and ale from the cellar, if he have blooded more than one. As often as the napkins shall be washed the washers shall receive from the refectorer a loaf of monk's bread from the buttery. The servants who attend on the monks while bathing shall have from the buttery bread, and a measure of ale from the cellar, on each day for three weeks before the nativity, and for three weeks before Palm Sunday. — The Abbots and also the monks of Evesham shall have their *corredy* (or allowance) for a whole year after their death, in the same proportion as while they lived; and this to be bestowed on some poor person for the good of their souls. — The servants who watch with any brother near his departure ought to be provided with bread and ale from the cellar. — When the death either of the Abbot or of any monk of another foundation shall happen, provided they were members of the

“ Cum olim pro usu fuerit observatum quod Ebdomadarius Evangelium ad magnam missam, quicunque esset in ebdomada proxima ante Pascha, omnes passionem, omnia evangelia ipsius ebdomadæ, *lettom* (sic) in capitulo feria quinta, ac benedictionem cerei in vigilia Paschæ, per seipsum legeret vel sumptuose per alium legi procuraret: — Frater *Petrus de Wyk* Prior cum consilio Conventus in Capitulo inter eos celebrato, die dominica proxime ante festum S. Gregorii A. D. 1338, pie considerans ipsius ebdomadarii, aliis deoneratis, laborem, juvamen et hoc soli posse contingere casualiter, multis annis, benigne constituit et rationabiliter ordinavit, — quod ebdomadarius Evangelii ad magnam missam in ebdomada predicta, passionem *indoca*. (sic) Ramis Palmarum, evangeliam feriis secunda, quinta, et sabbato, ac *lettor* (sic) in Capitulo feria quinta. Senior vero Diaconorum, excepto ebdomadario predicto, passionem feria tertia. Secundus senior passionem feria quarta. Tertius passionem feria sexta, et quartus benedictionem cerei in sabbato Paschæ per seipsos legant, vel per alios faciant legi competenter; ut sic alter alterius onera portatis, et lex Christi impleatur.”

the Evesham chapter, *ad annale pro Abbate et tricennale pro monacho*, bread and beer may be by any poor person demanded from the cellar in the same proportion which a monk enjoys while living. — The *cellarer* ought to allow to each poor person who shall have been in the chapter-house at the Lord's supper, one loaf and three salted fishes, and as much ale as may be necessary. — If any one shall preserve or add to these regulations, may the Lord increase his days upon earth, and preserve him to eternal life; but if any one shall destroy or detract from them, may the Lord diminish his days, and destroy his existence from off the earth. Amen. Amen. Amen.

IN these minute regulations there is doubtless much matter for *wonder*, some for *praise*, and a little for *laughter*. The former must be excited by the tedious mummeries they contain; many charitable provisions for the poor will demand reverence; and some of the more trivial institutions will probably provoke a smile. How much must a poor novice have had to learn before he could look forward with any certainty to the day when he might eat and drink his belly-full! Yet, upon the whole, it will not be easy to find any record that admits a reader more completely into the interior of an ancient English monastery, than the above paper of Institutes.*

But will not some pedantry and some superstitious regard for these monastic mummeries be attributed to the recorder of them? — Should this be the case, he knows not how he can ward off the imputation better than by
quoting

* In Stevens's Appendix [p. 146.] is a Latin epistle of consolation addressed to the monks of *Evesham* during the absence of their Abbot. It was written by *Peter Blesensis*, (or *de Blois*,) who was archdeacon of *London*, and vice-chancellor to Henry I. about the year 1117. Nothing but the great length of this and the foregoing chapter would have prevented my translating and inserting it here; as (although not strictly relating to the customs of this Abbey,) it is written in a pleasing, though rather enthusiastic manner, and contains many excellent topics of consolation under *real* calamities, drawn from religion. It may be found in the Appendix in the original language.

quoting the lines of a genuine poet, who was himself a lover of antiquity; and who pleads with much candour, as well as with a truly poetic spirit, in defence of a brother antiquary, in the following terms:

“ Deem not, devoid of elegance, the Sage,*
 By Fancy’s genuine feelings unbeguil’d,
 Of painful pedantry the poring child;
 Who turns, of these proud domes, th’ historic page,
 Now sunk by Time, and Henry’s fiercer rage.
 ——— While cloister’d Piety displays
 Her *mould’ring roll*, the piercing eye explores
New manners, and the *pomp of elder days*,
 Whence culls the pensive bard his pictur’d stores.
 Nor rough, nor barren, are the winding ways
 Of hoar Antiquity, but strown with flowers.”

[Warton, Sonnet III.]

* *Dugdale*; — on a blank leaf of whose *Monasticon* the above lines were written.

C H A P. V.

SITE, AND REMAINING ANTIQUITIES OF EVESHAM ABBEY.

THE relicts of ancient magnificence at *Evesham* are few; but on that very account the more precious. Enough still remains to convince us that there were once edifices on the spot of more than common elegance, as well as magnitude. Beside the old gateway on the north, (which is in the purest Saxon manner, and may, without much improbability, be conjectured part of the original structure,) — the tower built by *Lichfield*, still entire, — the two chapels of All Saints and St. Lawrence, the latter speedily hastening to decay, and other edifices already mentioned, there are various scattered fragments that from their beauty and finished stile of execution demand particular notice. But first it may be proper to say something of the general site of this almost forgotten fabric.

The whole of the space allotted to the Abbey is a peninsula formed here by the river Avon. The shape of that part of it on which the Abbey stood is, with some little irregularities, that of the section of an ellipsis bisected lengthwise, but not exactly at its greater diameter.* This bisection is made by a long wall,† of which the greater part still remains, and which doubtless formerly

* The narrowest part of this elliptical section seems to be that toward the south-east.

† This wall was probably erected some time between the years 1122 and 1149, by Abbot *Reginald*, who built much about the Convent. In a pretty long account of Abbots which I received from the British Museum since I began this work, but which I could not, without swelling the work too much, insert at length, the following particulars are related (in Latin) of this Abbot. “ He inclosed the whole Abbey and the cemetery with an *excellent wall*. He built great part of the walls of the nave of the church; as also the old refectory, and a regular locutory with a chapel to it; a hall for guests, and the great kitchen.” This account is so minute as to descend even to the

formerly reached from the river on the west side, to the same river, on its return round by the south, to the east side. All around on the edge of the river are meadows perfectly level, and of the richest soil. From thence, the ground very gently ascends in the elliptical form before spoken of; and on this little elevation stood once the Abbey with its dependencies, its gardens and pleasure grounds. All this space, excepting a small meadow or two, is now occupied by some of the most fertile and luxuriant gardens in the world. To a spectator standing on any part of this bank the view is delightful and highly diversified.* On the south-east, at the distance of about four miles, stands *Breedon* hill, (which, next to the *Malvern* hills, has the best claim of any in this country to the name of *mountain*,) with its forests intermingled with cultivated spots and farm-houses, and a fine park descending to its skirts. To the east, on which side is what is properly called the vale of *Evesham*, are the *Broadway* and other hills, in a long chain of considerable height, with almost numberless towns and villages in the intermediate distance, and a tract of country too much famed for its fertility to need description. The small elevation on which *Bengworth* stands, with the river at the bottom, forms the first distance on this side. On the north is the town of *Evesham*. The west view is closed by a high and steep bank on the other side of the river, belonging to the parish of *Hampton*, of a beauty and form entirely peculiar to itself. But it is from this very bank that this delicious spot and its adjacencies appear to the highest advantage. The whole there assumes the appearance of an admirable piece of *scene-painting*. The objects seem too artificially, though

the bells and vestments. "He caused to be founded the bell *Benedict* and its companion; the small bell *Gloucester* and its companion: gave a large black cope, and many vestments, books, and other ornaments to this church." It was plainly from the above historical list of Abbots that Talbot's MS. was translated; but with much abridgment, and in a very mutilated manner. It is intitled, "*Extracta particula de gestis Abbatum*," and is contained in the Harleian MS. 3763. fol. 168.

* Mr. Gough, (among other writers,) in his new edition of Camden, bears sufficient testimony to the extraordinary beauty of this spot. "No situation" (says he) "can be more luxurious or beautiful than that of this Abbey, placed in the centre of a curve formed by the river *Avon*, and on a regular ascent from the river." [Vol. 2. p. 370.]

not regularly, disposed for this combination to appear the work of nature. The town of *Evesham*, there seen at its full dimensions; the hanging gardens around it; the Abbey site, with the tower and two highly picturesque spires still standing; the back-ground of *Broadway* hills, and fore-ground of the bank itself steeply descending to the river; all together form a species of landscape that will appear new and peculiar even to those who are most conversant in the study of nature and her various scenery.

It is on the north-east side of the above-mentioned gentle elevation that the chief part of the former edifices seem to have stood; and it is there only that any remains of them are now to be found. That these buildings were once splendid and numerous may be collected from the former part of this work:* but all knowledge of their exact site and formation was lost even

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* The buildings already mentioned in the course of this work are :

I. The *church*, several times rebuilt, and at last brought to great perfection both in size and beauty. In some extracts from a MS. work of Mr. Habington there is the following account of it.—“ It contained three aisles of a more than ordinary breadth, and was extended from the *gate-house now standing* eastward almost to the new tower; having cloisters answerable on the south side, together with walks and courts for the recreation of the monks, with a very great and curious walk to go at certain times to the little church to celebrate mass; which church is now the parish church of St. Lawrence. All which Abbey and cloisters were of curious workmanship, and had within-side one hundred and sixty-four gilt marble pillars. There were also in the church sixteen altars, all in so many chapels dedicated to their respective saints.”

Concerning the one hundred and sixty-four gilt pillars, which would seem a *waste* of magnificence and splendour, an ingenious acquaintance (the Rev. Wm. Aldington, rector of *Todnam*,) whom I have sometimes consulted in the course of this work, has a very probable conjecture that it means nothing more than that the small clustered pillars in the church were fastened together by *rings of gilt copper*. This conjecture seems supported by a passage in Green's Survey of Worcester. [p. 53. first edit.]

II. The *cloisters*, frequently mentioned in the chapter of Abbots, as also in the above quotation from Mr. Habington: over one side of which was

III. The *library*, built, or possibly only repaired, by *John de Brokehamton*, about the year 1295.

IV. The *refectory*.

V. The

to our earliest antiquaries. Little now can be done, unless we chose to enter into an useless train of arbitrary conjecture, than to select each fragment that now remains on the spot, and describe it more copiously or succinctly, in proportion as it more or less merits an observer's notice and admiration.

The first relic of antiquity that presents itself on entering upon the Abbey-site from the town, is the ancient gateway on the north side of the present

V. The *dormitory*.

VI. The *infirmary* or hospital.

VII. The *presbytery*.

VIII. The *chapter-house*.

IX. The *misericordia*: I suppose a distinct building from the infirmary.

X. The *locutory*. These seven last mentioned buildings are all noticed in the enumeration of the "good acts of prior *Thomas*," [p. 24.] as repaired or improved by him.

XI. The *almery*, probably the same with the *misericordia*.

XII. The *kitchen*. In latter periods *two* of these are mentioned in some of the charters.

Beside these it is probable there was a *chapel* dedicated to St. Michael, distinct from the church.

The two *chapels* of All Saints and St. Lawrence are still standing.—We read also of various *crypts*, and a *chapel* dedicated to St. Anne, near the locutory.

Many other buildings are specified in the grant of the site to Sir *Philip Hoby*, and of some the site is given us.

1. The *almery* is there said to be situated near the *north gate* of the Abbey.
2. The Abbot's *stables*, toward the south.
3. The *basse-court*, toward the east.
4. *Barton-gate*, on the west.
5. A *kitchen*.
6. Two other *stables*.

8. A dove-

present church-yard. It was once, as may be seen by the note subjoined, surmounted by a tower. At present a private dwelling is built over it: so that it is difficult to say how much of the ancient fabric remains. It is altogether in the Saxon style of architecture, and on either side is a row of small Saxon arches, rising about four feet and an half from the ground, merely ornamental. The stones of which it is built, and which are remarkably large and massive, are of the darkest brown hue from extreme antiquity. A large arch was doubtless once the form of this entrance, but the building erected over prevents all certainty on this head. Entering through the gateway you arrive in the church-yard, probably always a cemetery.

The two chapels (afterwards churches) of All Saints and St. Lawrence
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next

3. A *dove-house*, over Barton-gate.

9. The *store-house*, abutting on the *tower* of the north gate; upon the granary toward the south; and upon the almery on the east.

10. A whole court and buildings round it called the *chamberer's-chamber*, abutting on the Abbot's pools against the east; upon the basse court west; upon the Abbot's garden south; and upon the buildings called the *Prince's-chapel chamber* north.

11. Another *kitchen*.

12. A house called the *taylor's*, or the *apple-house*.

13. Another called the *receipt*, where the records were kept.

14. The *steward's lodgings*.

15. Another *dove-house*.

16. The buildings called *Dortor Prense* lodgings.

All these were to be excepted from destruction at the general wreck; but what has become of them since no one has been able to inform us. There were also reserved the *almery garden*; a curtilage called the *almery court*: the garden called the *hynde garden*, near Barton-gate; another *garden*; a small curtilage; one *orchard* within the *park* called *calve's croft*, with a pool of water in it; and lastly another *garden*.—Though the site and abutments of these reserved offices are sometimes given, yet the very buildings and places on which they abutted having also perished, very little light is by these means thrown on the general form and original appearance of the Monastery.

next present themselves; the former of which stands close on the left, at the edge of the cemetery, and the latter near the centre of the open space. The church of St. Lawrence is now hastening to complete ruin, and as such presents a fine object to the lover of picturesque beauty. The eastern window, remarkably finished and beautiful, forms a plate in this work, and will therefore need no minute description. Of the internal fabric and monuments of these churches a farther account will occur in the article of *public edifices* and *monumental inscriptions* in this town.

On the east from this church, and almost in a direct line from its eastern window, stands the famous tower, with a gateway under it, erected by *Clement Lichfield*. It is by many esteemed an almost perfect model of the perfection of Gothic architecture; though in the opinion of some connoisseurs, (and not, I suppose, without reason,) the art had before the period in which this tower was erected already passed its summit,* and was then verging fast to decay. This is apparent in the style of its decorations and in the shape of its arch, which, departing too far from the lancet form, assumes almost the heaviness of the Saxon order. This style, arising probably from bad specimens of Grecian architecture observed by our remote ancestors in *Palestine*, was now, after its progress of several ages through the varieties of the Gothic species, degenerating once more into a bad imitation of the Grecian model. On the whole however this tower is, excepting perhaps the towers of All Saints in *Derby*, of *Gloucester* cathedral, *York* minster, and
a few

* The period in which the Gothic style preserved its highest perfection is supposed to have been between the reigns of Henry III. and Henry VII. "All the buildings" (says Mr. Gray, a very good judge, in his 44th letter,) "of Henry the Second's time are of a clumsy and heavy proportion, with a few rude and awkward ornaments; and this style continues to the beginning of Henry the Third's reign, though with a little improvement, as in the nave of Fountain's abbey, &c. then all at once come in the tall picked arches, the light clustered columns, the capitals of curled foliage, the fretted tabernacles and vaultings, and a profusion of statues, &c. that constitute the good Gothic style; together with decreasing and flying buttresses, and pinnacles on the outside." The erections of Henry VII. and particularly the famous chapel at Westminster, will plainly evince that, according to the above definition of Mr. Gray, the purity of this style was not lost in his time. Of buildings erected afterward, I know of none that comes so near excellence as the very tower in question.



ABBAY ARCH WITH A VIEW OF BENGWORTH.

By SIR JOHN RUSKIN, Bart. This Plate is humbly dedicated by his most humble servant, John Agg.

a few others, the finest specimen of architecture left by our popish ancestors in the whole kingdom. It is likewise allowed to be one of the latest, if not absolutely the last.* — A farther description of this also will be more suitably inserted in the chapter on the *public buildings* of *Evesham*.

Near this tower, at the angle formed by the cemetery on the south-east, the old wall begins to be visible, and stretches away nearly in a right line almost to the edge of the river, westward: nor is there much doubt but it formerly extended itself to the same river, on the east side. In many parts of it, toward the cemetery, there are vestiges of ancient door-ways and windows, which lead us to suspect that some part of it must once have served for other purposes than a mere boundary. There is also one very ancient chimney erected on it, which serves for a fire-place in a summer-house standing on the wall. It is hexangular, and has a sort of battlement on the top like those belonging to the chapels in All Saints and St. Lawrence; though, as may be supposed, on a much smaller scale. From hence it becomes extremely probable that this wall, which may have at first served only the purpose of an enclosure, had afterwards cells and other habitable offices annexed to it. It is altogether built of the small flat stone observable in most erections of the same kind.

Just on the southern side of this wall, but near its eastern extremity, are the pleasant gardens and premises inhabited by Mr. Phillips, who, with a considerable taste for antiquity, has every advantage for its study that a gentleman can possess. It is on the east end of his garden that the famous arch still subsists which has so frequently been admired and delineated by the lovers of Gothic architecture. Though its feet are now buried in the soil to within about four feet of the springing of the arch, it is easy to discern that it must once have possessed every advantage of elegance of form, as well as excellence of execution. It is pointed, but obtusely; which circumstance
seems

* Mr. Gough supposes it the "last building erected by popery in England." [Edit. of Camden, vol. 2. p. 370.] But I have been credibly informed of an edifice, but do not recollect where, that was begun immediately before the dissolution, and left *unfinished* when that event took place.

seems to fix the time of its erection to the early part of Henry the Third's reign, or some late period of his predecessor's. From the springing of the arch it is divided by three mouldings of the neatest workmanship into two compartments. In each of these are eight figures now deprived of their heads, (I have heard in a drunken frolic,) but of very superior performance. The outer row are seated; the inner standing: and the draperies belonging to both are particularly admired by curious visitors. In the middle, at the top, is a mutilated figure of an angel praying. The centre of the inner range of figures had, it is affirmed, once an inscription on it; but all vestiges of this are entirely gone. The whole height of the arch is, at present, only seventeen feet: but what was its former elevation is not easily to be known. From the usual proportion observed in these Gothic erections, we may however guess that, if formerly a gateway, rather more than one third of it is, at present, buried in the earth. If a window, as some conjecture, it must have sunk, or the ground have risen around it, to an incredible degree. The plate which accompanies this description, and is very accurate, will give a better idea of this valuable fragment than any words can convey.

As there can be little doubt but that the church was situated near this spot, and probably extended from this gate westward as far as where the house of Mr. Phillips now stands, at about the distance of one hundred and fifty yards, we may reasonably suppose this arch either to have been one of the principal entrances into the church, into some chapel in the eastern part, into the presbytery or chapter-house, or some other building connected with the church. That it was ever the great eastern window, (as I have heard conjectured,) seems to outrage all probability. The height* of such a window, in a building of any size, could not be supposed at less than the distance

* The reader has no doubt observed that the author of this work has always been careful to *keep within* the bounds of probability, rather than *exceed* them. But I believe the following calculation respecting this arch would come nearer to the truth than what I have written above.

Near, if not quite, *one half* of the arch is under ground. Thus the whole height above thirty feet. If a *window*, at least twenty-five feet must be under ground.

If a *gateway*, probably about fifteen feet are buried.

At that depth nearly we may therefore suppose the pavement of the Abbey-church to lie.

distance of ten feet from the ground. Now as the earth has evidently covered more than one third of the arch itself, the whole rise of the surface or sinking of the fabric, (for *both* probably operate,) could not, in this case, be estimated at less than eighteen feet. This, though there is no doubt a vast mass of rubbish under the soil, seems, if not impossible, a great improbability. Neither is the size of this ruin, though sufficient for a gateway, equal by any means to what we usually see allotted to the larger windows of such a fabric; as the whole height, without violating every rule of proportion, could never have been more than about five and twenty feet; and the total span is little above thirteen. We may therefore conclude it to have been a gateway: though into what part of the building it is not now easy precisely to determine.

Between this arch and Mr. Phillips's residence, and at the depth of at least eight feet below the surface, it is conjectured the ancient pavement of this once magnificent church lies nearly entire. The conjecture is probable; unless we suppose the pavement to have been marble, and thus worth the trouble of removing, before the rubbish thrown from the walls and roof began to cover it at the demolition. And even under part of this it is probable there remain the ancient crypts or vaults, still, in great measure, unfilled with earth or rubbish. That there is a cavity here, as well as on the eastern side, of great extent, is evident from several circumstances enumerated in the subjoined note.* Much light might certainly be obtained by a thorough investigation of the premises by the spade, and probably many valuable articles be discovered; but the certain expence would be so considerable,

* Mrs. Phillips, the mother of the gentleman before-mentioned, assured me that, not long since, the pavement of their cellar sunk in to a considerable depth, and continued so to do till prevented by a thorough reparation.—Not far from the house is known to be a cavity in the earth of prodigious dimensions, as (though it has never been opened,) may be concluded from its having served always for the receptacle of dirty water, &c. without any necessity for its being cleansed; a small opening having been made to it, and a grate fixed therein in the manner of a sink or common sewer.—Not many years back the Quakers had a general meeting at *Evesham*, and booths were erected for their accommodation on the bank, to the north east of the Abbey site: just where it begins to descend to the water. On making a hole in the earth with a large iron bar, for the upright

siderable, and the return either in articles of profit or amusement so uncertain, as hitherto to have deterred the proprietor from all attempts of this kind.

It is impossible to walk in this garden, which to a native antiquary must seem almost classic ground, without a variety of emotions congenial to the spot. When we reflect that underneath repose the bones of the founder, venerable from intrinsic worth, of a numerous body of saints and martyrs, that owed their veneration perhaps merely to accidental circumstances and the folly of their contemporaries, we feel that kind of awe and serious delight which certainly partake considerably of the nature of the sublime sensation. Though these objects almost of worship to our popish forefathers retain little estimation in the mind, or rank in the calendar of a Protestant, yet on the fancy of a lover of antiquity, while contemplating them, much of that *sombre* sort of satisfaction is reflected which resembles, in some measure, the light that once gleamed through the dimly-tintured windows of the fabric. The number of years that have rolled away since their interment, which the mind always subdivides, by an imperceptible operation, into months, days, and even hours; the numerous generations of men that have since occupied the scene of life; the almost infinite changes since produced in manners, dress, and customs of every species; all crowd into the mind, and produce in it nearly the same kind of subdued astonishment which is excited by some vast and perpendicular cliff whose head is lost in mist, and whose sides are perpetually scourged by the billows of the ocean.

But beside these saints and martyrs so often mentioned in a work which, like the present, is composed almost entirely from monastic records, many likewise lie interred on the spot who had no great pretension to the former title; though to their pride and ambition they certainly were *martyrs*. *Simon Mountfort,*

upright pole of one of these booths, it sunk suddenly its entire length into the earth, and was retained above it only by the fork left purposely on its top. This, as well as the above circumstances, plainly evinces that there are still subterraneous excavations existing of very great extent, in exploring which the labour and expence would, it is likely, be repaid to the projector.

Mountfort, his son *Henry*, *Hugh le Despenfer*, justiciary of England, and, it is probable, *Peter de Mountfort*,* *William de Mandeville*, *Ralph Bassett*, *Sir John St. John*, as well as many other persons slain at the battle of this place, were interred by the monks in the Abbey church.† *Simon* himself, though no saint, was a great hypocrite, and a favourite of the monastics. He usually wore sack-cloth next his body; fasted and prayed much; and, what was still more efficacious in those days, gave largely to the church of his possessions. His body was therefore taken from among the heap of slain soon after the fight, and buried here with great solemnity. Many miracles, it is affirmed by the monks, were wrought at his shrine. But these have now ceased to appear, as well as the shrine that worked them. The recollection however of these remote events adds the charm of historical meditation and reflection to the many others to which this solemn spot gives rise.

The house itself which Mr. Phillips inhabits, though said to have been composed of the materials which once formed part of the church, retains no vestiges of very remote antiquity: but his out-houses, &c. being more slightly put together, and founded on parts of the ancient fabric, still exhibit several curious specimens of them. In one, at present used as a straw-house, are to be seen in the walls (which are about the distance of fifteen feet from each other in breadth, and about thirty in length,) arches of very considerable dimensions, and of remarkably light architecture. There are four

T

discernable

* It is at least certain that the three former were buried before the great altar. Henry is said himself to have assisted at the funeral of the earl. Tyrrel the historian affirms that he saw at Cambridge a MS. containing prayers by the Evesham monks addressed to *Simon Mountfort*, whom they esteemed a martyr. [Dr. Nash, vol. i. p. 413.]

† Some years ago, (but I never could learn the exact time,) a skeleton, not in complete armour, as is asserted by Mr. Gough and some other authors, but with considerable remains of armour on it, was dug up inclosed in a stone coffin in the premises of Mr. Phillips. It was soon interred again, as some affirm in the garden; while others informed me in the neighbouring church of St. Lawrence. It was by many imagined to be the remains of *Simon Mountfort* himself: but, as there were no insignia conspicuous on the armour, it is at least as probable that it was the body of one of his companions, of some note, slain in the same battle. Could I have been assured of the spot, curiosity would, I believe, have urged me to attempt a second disinterment.

discernable on each side, and one, somewhat wider, at each end. All are at present closed up, and seem to have been so many years; as there are both door-ways and windows in the interstices, of very ancient structure themselves. This place is generally supposed to have been part of the cloister, and its situation on the south side of the church seems to favour the conjecture. But the arches having been stopped up, and that in a manner which seems to indicate this was done before the dissolution took place; and, above all, the two arches at the ends render it probable that this was some structure of more confined dimensions than cloisters usually are:—probably some office in, or nearly connected with, the church.

In another part of the same out-house, at present used as a repository for coal, are to be seen the vestiges of an ancient staircase of considerable size; and doubtless part of the monastic fabric. The stairs seem to have been formed on the plan now called *geometrical*; as the surface of the wall they are fixed to is, underneath them, nearly on the same plane with that above them. Its jagged points and rough protuberancies however, under these stairs, serve to evince that this may not have been always the case. A part of most of these stone stairs still adheres to the wall: and the upper stair, which turns considerably round to the left, is nearly entire. Over them are the remains of small arches which have likewise adhered to the wall, and plainly shew it was once arched over, and probably a work of considerable elegance. Enough is not preserved to inform us of the exact dimensions of the whole, nor of the apartment to which these stairs ascended.

In another out-house not far off, there remains a niche of about six feet in height, and of admirable workmanship. It is impossible to forbear fancying it the very niche in which the crucifix, mentioned in a note on the preceding chapter, was once placed, and to which daily processions were made. It is surmounted by a Gothic canopy of wonderful richness and beauty, and composed of that hard and durable stone which has enabled all the relics of this Abbey to retain a finish and perfection that I do not remember elsewhere to have seen.

Beside these remains of former splendour preserved in the premises of Mr.
Phillips,

Phillips, there are likewise two inhabited houses, one on each side of them, that present many vestiges of it. Both were certainly parts of the Abbey. In that toward the church-yard facing the north, in a room used as a wash-house, was once a large arched gateway, now closed up, with a small Gothic window over it. In the corner of the same room is an enclosed round space, or kind of turret, which once undoubtedly served for a spiral stair-case; though the stairs themselves have long since entirely disappeared. In another part of the same premises may be seen the remnants of a very large arch, which has its corresponding parts, at a considerable distance, in the coach-house of Mr. Phillips. This appears to have been, in all probability, the great western entrance into the Abbey church.

The other dwelling, to the south, seems entirely composed of the Abbey remains. A large Gothic window toward the street, still entire, plainly points it out as part of some ancient fabric. On entering the house, considerably beneath the surface of the earth, you come through a long passage to a kind of niche, where there is every reason to suppose a *creffet* or *lamp* was formerly placed. It is of light Gothic workmanship; not unlike, but less ornamented than, that of the niche before-mentioned. The top of its canopy has been broken off to make room for the low ceiling above. By projecting considerably from the wall, it admits of open work on all sides; and has a communication also with an adjoining apartment, from whence it was probably supplied with oil.—In that apartment, throughout antique, is a very large fire-place, with a richly carved entablature over it; and near it a window of considerable size, and of Gothic construction; the top of which now only remains entire. The great breadth of this fire-place, as well as the whole appearance of the apartment, seems to indicate it to have been one of the several kitchens which administered to the luxury, and (let us not withhold its *due* praise,) the hospitality of this ancient foundation.

At *Coughton*, near *Alcester*, where this Abbey once had considerable possessions, there is a large gateway to the house of Sir *John Throckmorton*, which is reported to have been removed from *Evesham*, soon after the dissolution. The report came from so good authority, that the author of this work thought it requisite to make an excursion thither, on purpose to examine whether this

edifice bore any internal evidence of its antiquity and origin. It was found a very magnificent structure, of near an hundred feet in height, and about twenty in breadth, at the front. The sides are of greater dimensions. It is turretted and embattled, more in the castle stile, than that of any ecclesiastic edifice.* The windows are many and large, and of a form that partakes but little of the Gothic, but such as we usually find in erections of about the time of Henry the Eighth, or his predecessor. The turrets have these large windows as well as the rest of the building; and one of them, that to the south, by which you ascend to the top, has a row of windows above the level of the leads. These turrets are hexangular; and between those on the north side, is a chimney of a very peculiar shape: it being embattled like the rest of the building. In two places on the front, above the first and under the third story, are the *Throckmorton* arms. Some pains were taken, in the examination of these arms, to discover, if possible, whether they were of later date than the other parts of the tower. The highest seemed evidently so; being of much whiter stone: but the lowest had every appearance of being coeval with the rest of the fabric. The arch at bottom is plainly modern; and the appearance of the stones in the whole of the lower part is different from those at some height, which are uniformly of a deep brown hue. On both the fronts, over the arches, are mottoes, now almost defaced. On the west, the first verse of the hundred and twenty-seventh Psalm: *Nisi Dominus edificaverit domum*, &c. and, over the east arch, the following verse of the same Psalm. Whether or not this gateway was *really* once a part of *Evesham* Abbey, the author will not take on him to decide; but, on the whole, appearances are not in favour of the supposition. On the other hand, the authority for it is very good; as a gentleman of the highest veracity at *Evesham* has declared that he had it from the mouth of the late Sir Robert *Throckmorton*, who no doubt had sufficient vouchers for the fact.—But in all these accounts of removed edifices there is a kind of dilemma, of which it is difficult to get rid. If, as was certainly the case, only the materials were removed piece-meal from *Evesham*, it is ten to one they were not put together again exactly in the same manner:—and that any considerable part

* The reader will find among the titles of charters, &c. in the first Appendix, two which plainly shew that not only the principal gate, but also the greater part of the Abbey, was embattled. This certainly adds some weight and credit to the report.

part of the edifice was removed entire cannot be thought possible.—At most, therefore, we can expect to find at *Coughton* only a *good imitation* of the western gate of *Evesham* Abbey.*

The reader has now been conducted to every fragment that could have made any part of this famous Abbey. To put them together as the component parts of an entire fabric, or even to conjecture their uses as taken separately, it would not be prudent, with so few materials, to undertake. From a knowledge of what these erections usually consisted of, and from a review of their present detached fragments, a plan of the whole might undoubtedly be framed. But so much must unavoidably be left to the illusive operations of fancy, and so much gratuitous conjecture must necessarily be hazarded, that such a plan would probably seem as much a representation of any other monastery as of the Abbey in question.—By forbearing this, I hope therefore to assume some merit, in forbearing to trifle either with the reader's patience, or his credulity.

The seal, of which I have been favoured with an impression,† on both sides nearly perfect, remains next to be noticed. This impression was affixed to an indenture made between *Philip Hawford*, the last Abbot, and one of the Abbey tenants: and is of dark brown wax, very hard, but rather brittle.‡ It is circular,

* Dugdale, in his *Warwickshire*, says only of this gate that it was “built by *Sir George Throckmorton*, who intended the rest of the house should be finished in the same style.” The rest of this edifice is as unlike it as possible, at present. *Sir George* lived at the time of the dissolution; but surely Dugdale would have noticed the remarkable circumstance of the removal had it been true.—In the chancel of *Coughton* church, (which, for its painted glass and other curious articles, I should recommend to the notice of every antiquary,) is a plate of brass inscribed to the memory of “*Dame Elizabeth Throckmorton*, the last *Abbas* of *Denye*, and aunt to *Sir George Throckmorton*, knight,” who died in the year 1547.

† Procured by Mr. Blayney, attorney, of *Evesham*, to whom this work is, on several accounts, much indebted.

‡ The beginning of this indenture is as follows:

“This indenture made the 16th day of December, in the yere of the reign of king Henry the VIIIth, in the lande supreme lord of the churche of England the 30th, betwene *Philip*, by the permission

lar, and of about four inches diameter. As this seal is very clearly and minutely described by Dr. Nash, who has also given a plate of one of its sides, (though it seems he had not sufficient authority for the other,) an account of it is here given almost in the same words.

In the centre, on one side of the seal, is represented the swineherd *Eoves*, surrounded by his herd, and round him this inscription: EOVSHE. VENETIE. AIT. WAS. SWIN. CORLIMEN. CLEPET. VIS. EOVSISHOM.* Above, on the left, a crowned female, followed by two figures, the one bare-headed the other covered, points with a cross to the church afterwards built; under the representation of which is written: ECCE. LO. QUE. ELEGI. *Ecce locum quem elegi.*† Bishop Egwin in pontificals, is represented on the right, kneeling to the church; and behind him are two figures which may represent the Virgin's appearance to him, as related in the legend. Round the seal is this inscription: SIGILLUM. SANCTE. MARIE. ET. SANCTI. ECGWINI. EPI. EOVSESHAMENSIS. MONASTERII.‡

On the reverse are, on the left and near the top, the Virgin and child; and under them a king giving to a bishop a charter superscribed: DAMUS. REGIE.

permission of God, Abbot of the exempt Monasterye of our blessed lady the Virgyn and Sent Egwin of *Evesham*, in the countie of Worcester, of the order of Sent Bennet, and the Covent of the same place, on the one party;—And *John Aldyngton* the elder of *Myddle Lyttleton*, in the said countie of Worcester yeman, *Margarete* hys wyfe, *Thomas Aldyngton* and *John Aldyngton* the younger, the sonnes of the foresaid *John Aldyngton* the elder, on the other partye;—Witnesseeth, &c.”

This instrument is a lease of the manor-house and demesne lands of *Middle Littleton*.

* Thus explained (says Dr. Nash,) by a learned friend:—“*Eoveshe servus apud insulam Ait erat porcorum, rustici homines vocant hanc Eovesi habitationem.*” Or in English: *Eoveshe was keeper of swine at the island Ait. The country people call this the habitation of Eoves.*

† In English: *Behold the place which I have chosen.*

‡ *The seal of St. Mary and of St. Egwin bishop of the Monastery of Evesham.*

ANTIQUITIES.



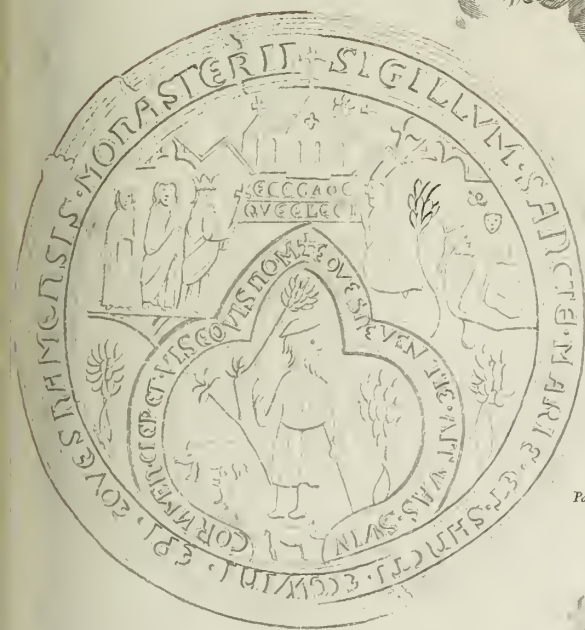
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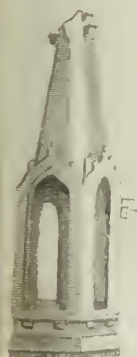
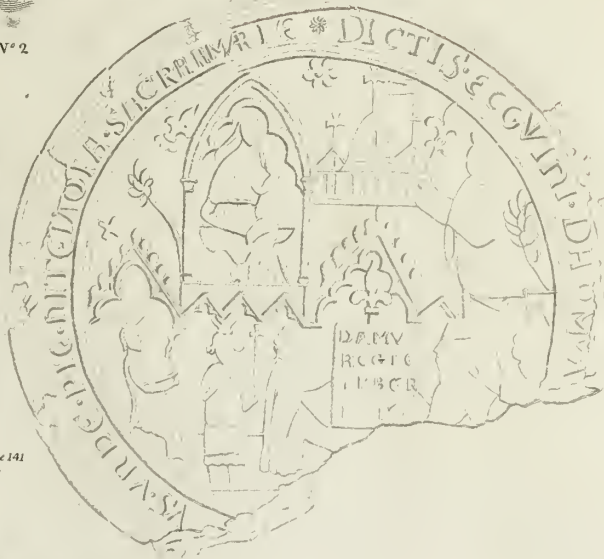
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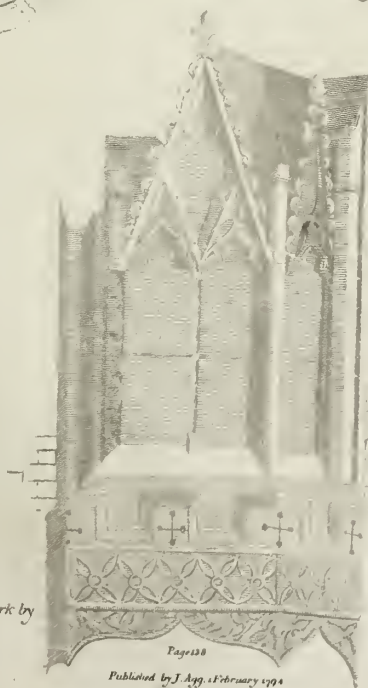
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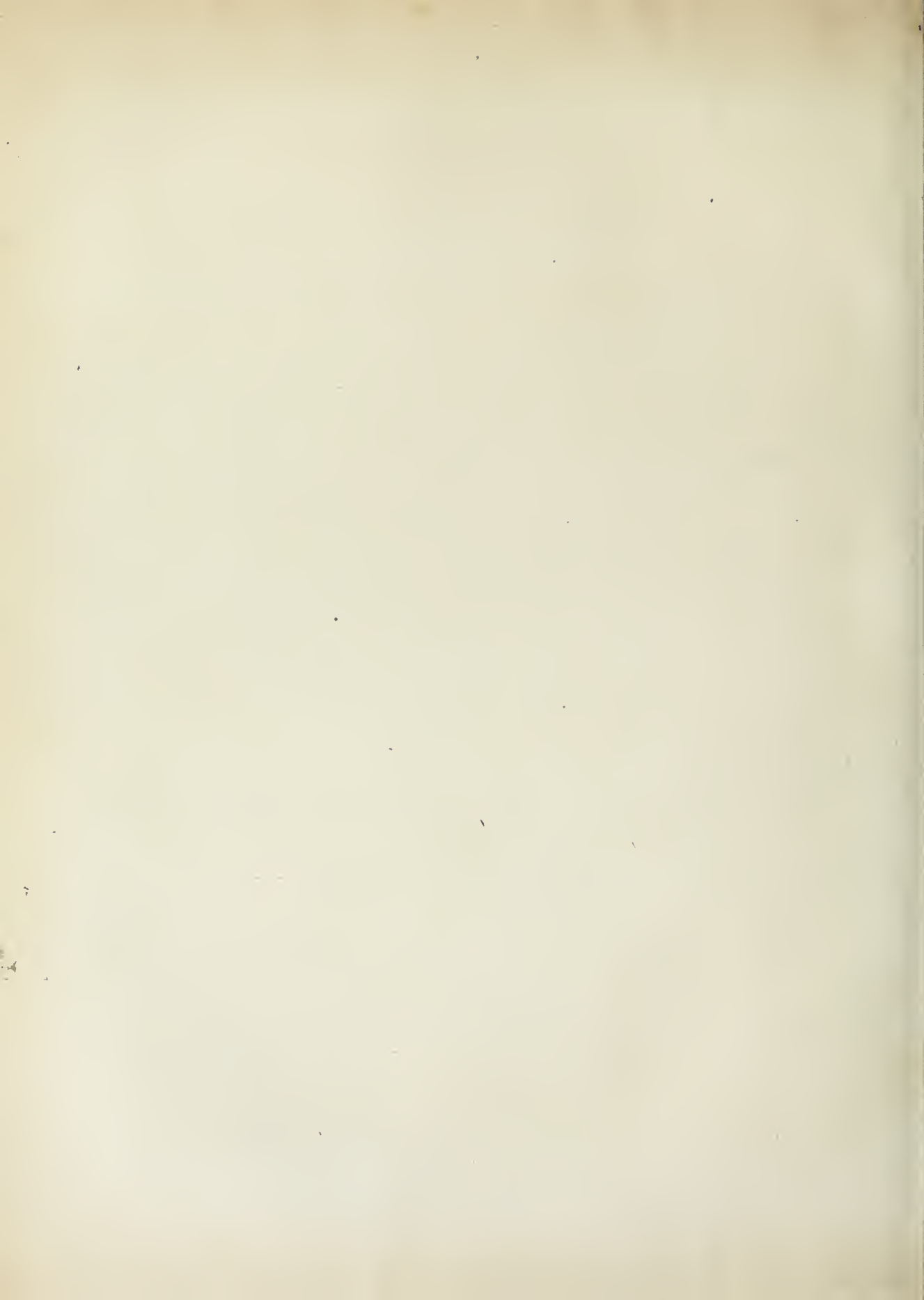
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Published by J. Agg. 17 February 1794



This Plate is given to this Work by

MTROE, an admirer of Antiquities



REGIE. LIBERTATI. Under the charter, the three lions of England. Behind the king, a queen, and an officer with something like a crown on his head, holding a hawk. Over the bishop is a church, as on the other side. Round this side of the seal: DICTIS. ECGWINI. — UHERATRINI. OMNIBUS. UNDE. PIE. NITET. AULA. SAC. MARIE.*

This seal is very ancient ; but not, I presume, of Saxon sculpture : the inscription round it is in the Saxon letter, and partly in that language. But the canopies over the figures are, as well as the churches represented on it, all in the early Gothic form. The figures are neatly and sharply cut in ; but, in general, slender beyond all human proportions. There was another seal in which the horse-lock (the Abbey arms,) forms a *chevron* between three mitres. A representation of this may be found in Tanner's plate of abbatial seals ; but the first-mentioned was, it may be presumed, the seal used on all occasions of moment.†

There have been, as may be imagined, at various periods, a great number of utensils, ornaments, and other little articles picked up on the Abbey-site. These getting into many different hands, and often changing their owners, it would be difficult now to particularise. Some of them, found many years ago, are said to have been so valuable as greatly to have advanced the

* It is difficult to interpret this inscription, though in the *Latin* language. The word *uheratrini* which is imperfect, or probably wrongly copied, is, in its present state, a word of no language : but on that, whatever it be, the whole sense of the inscription depends.

† Dr. Nash says, at the end of his account of this seal :—" I should have engraved this reverse, [the side on which is the figure of a king presenting a charter,] if I could have found any authority for it besides the impression of a plate, supposed to be done by Mynde for Dr. Thomas's intended history of Worcester-shire ; it is there said to be among the evidences of Edmund Lechmere, of Hanley-castle, in the county of Worcester, Esq. and to be the seal of Abbot Richard, in the year 1474. Mr. West shewed the Society of Antiquaries, 1736, a deed of this Abbot of the said date, discharging the Monastery of Alcester from dependance on him, to which was appendant this seal, with both sides very fair." — The author of this work may think himself fortunate, that he has been able to acquire what had escaped the researches of the learned and laborious topographer above-mentioned.

the fortunes of their discoverers. One, of little or no value at all, lately fell into the hands of the author of this work. It was found by digging in a field not far from the Abbey-precincts. It is a round plate of metal, apparently copper, with a shank fixed in it, and is about three inches in diameter. It has been richly gilt, and enamelled with various colours. Round it is a rim, or sort of frame, about half an inch in breadth, which has likewise been highly ornamented. On the plate itself are three mitres, the Abbey arms, in green enamel, but with gilt edges. It seems to have been part of the furniture of some Abbot's horse, and was probably worn on the forehead of that animal. From many parts of the foregoing work, it will appear that these dignitaries were sufficiently ostentatious in their apparel and other accoutrements.

But these poor Abbots and their horse-furniture have now long since passed away, and the fullen blasts of above two hundred and fifty winters have howled over their graves, and through their shattered dwellings! — These men, who united a real arrogance to a feigned humility; — once so busy, opulent, and doubtless troublesome to their equals and superiors; — powerful enough to serve as a counterpoise to the tyranny of the barons and nobility, and active enough not seldom to gain the ascendancy over them; — these *proud* assertors of the doctrines of the *humble* Jesus are now of no more importance than merely to interest for a while the imagination of a few insignificant enquirers into antiquity! Upon the whole however,—a man who views human life with a philosophic regard rather to the happiness and comfort of the human race, than to that opulence which accrues from commercial industry, and which does not always secure those advantages, will be inclined to hope, but will not without some hesitation venture to affirm, that we have, at this day, better institutions in their stead.

It would not be easy to employ so many solitary hours in enquiries of this kind, without various reflections, which the subject must naturally excite. The temper of the present times, tending daily more and more to an extreme so diametrically opposite to all monastic habits, (themselves, no doubt, an *extreme* equally to be shunned,) must incline a thoughtful mind to run a kind

kind of parallel between such strange deviations from the happy medium of reason and truth.—A few desultory hints to this effect may perhaps meet the candid reader's excuse, and not unsuitably close this part of the work.

An *emancipation* from all *prejudice*, and a degree of *illumination of intellect*, unknown to our sober ancestors, are now the boast of every half-informed understanding. These lights, (as they stile them,) and this freedom of thought such persons are eager to communicate to the minds of men still less informed than themselves; and, like the *ignis fatuus* in nature, to lead them astray from all their real interests and best concerns. They in general neither themselves possess, or can of course communicate to others, more than such a *partial* view of the duties of society, as regards merely *their own claims* upon it. If, as we cannot doubt, there exist behind the curtain, to agitate these puppets, both men of really enlarged views, but with minds blinded by their enthusiastic projects; as well as artful villains without either illumination or principle; they carefully conceal from each individual those duties *society may claim from him*. Thus are the ignorant multitude excited to acts of violence and rebellion, while they suppose themselves merely vindicating their proper rights.

To *prejudice* of every kind, or any thing to which the appellation can be wrested, these worthies allow no quarter:—and under the name of prejudice they would willingly include all that is *great, venerable, or holy*. Thus are these men, (such, at least, as are sincere in their tenets,) themselves the most striking examples of *prejudicial absurdity*. The inviolable fidelity of an *Arab* to those whom he has entertained in his tent, and who have eaten salt with him, would doubtless, by these enlightened gentlemen, be deemed a *prejudice*. Yet to this is it owing that a savage ceases, in one respect at least, to be such; and that numbers of our countrymen have escaped the snarcs of treachery and avarice.

There is little doubt but, in the subsequent improvements of the age, all the ties of *kindred* and *affinity*, as well as all other our most amiable propensities, will shortly be included within this *comprehensive term*. In fact;—what are

such things to a *philosopher*, who considers the universe as one family, and all mankind as brethren? — *Brethren*, in some sort, indeed we are; and to the religion these philosophers so much impugn is it entirely owing that we ever, in any respect, behaved as such:—but certainly in the present state of things, (and probably in any state that could be devised, independently of that religion,) *brethren*, of whom we shall be ever happy in the assistance of our *nearer* and *real* kindred to repel the continual attacks.

The ages of *chivalry*, and of *feudal* service which have, in the present work, so long employed our attention, may, at least, be said to have kept our ancestors in a decided state, either of *peace*, or of *war*: of which the latter was *open*, *generous*, and occasionally softened by every *kind intercourse* of humanity. The system so much recommended, and even pressed upon us, by these *philosophic* gentlemen* would, if ever adopted, keep us in a state between both. If of peace,—it would be the peace of continual turbulence, contention, and domestic inquietude. If of war,—a war disgraced by every secret act of treachery, as well as by every possible horror which we can in imagination combine with the most selfish and savage ferocity.

It has ever appeared to me, that the classic historians have taken nearly the same effect upon the heads of these men, as the old romances are said to have produced in the crazy brains of the *knight* of *La Mancha*. With the violence, rather than ardour, of a school-boy, they attempt daily to imitate what common sense would tell them cannot, in these times, be attained; and thus play at *philosophers* and *politicians*.—If a patriotic gift of three livres sterling is to be accepted at the hands of a barber's apprentice, it is done in the pompous periods of *Livy*.—If a paltry town or fortress has been taken, *mural wreaths* are decreed, and set harangues are made, which resemble the same author in nothing but his verbosity. Sometimes indeed our amusement is varied by an affected oration in the *minced* periods of *Tacitus*.† But alas!

* *Gentlemen* is a very *Gothic* term, and I entreat pardon for using it:—but if I had made use of the word *men*, it would probably have been thought liable also to some objections.

† No *disrespect* for the *classics* is here intended; but merely to the paltry and affected imitation of them that was daily exhibited in the *French National Assembly*, not long since.

alas ! — if a general is beaten and driven home with loss, he is by no means received there with the Roman generosity, and candid commiseration. The *French baboon* grins forth from the *Roman toga* ;—and he is either driven an exile from his country, or sacrificed by the daggers of scoundrel and coward assassins.

What these heroes, (by *inversion*,) meant to effect, is for none but themselves to decide ; and is moreover now scarcely worth the trouble of enquiry. A state of absolute anarchy could never have been their only and ultimate intent : nor indeed could they have supposed such a state would subsist so long as for themselves to derive much advantage from it.—Certain *philosophic projectors* are doubtless lurking behind the tapestry, who would esteem the blood of thousands, and the happiness of millions, as of little moment, in comparison of a brilliant and noisy experiment. These may possibly hope, by bringing society to its original state of inconnection and confusion, to renew once more, *less tacitly*, the social compact ; and thus commence a new æra of existence. But here also lies a difficulty. These men, at least such of them as are not entirely blinded by enthusiastic vapours, must be aware that, unless the present generation be entirely *extirpated*, (and the blame does not seem to rest with them that *it has not*,) no such event could possibly be brought to pass. Thus the happiness and quiet of the *present generation* is idiotically sacrificed to the idle and visionary hope of benefiting some *future race* of mankind.

From a disgust to such disgraceful scenes, a mind addicted, in any degree, to order and tranquillity, will not be undelighted sometimes to listen to “ the voice of past times,” and even revert, in idea, to the opposite extreme of monastic seclusion and inactivity. — A lively writer of the present day has observed, that “ the best thing we can often do, is *to do nothing at all*.” — This, which he applies to political concerns, might, I fear, be now extended to morality itself. If *nothing* be done, at least, *mischiefs* and *criminality* will be avoided. If to the monastic the world and its pleasures were sacrificed, *something*, at least, was gained : an acquaintance with God and his own heart. That *useless* being, a *monk*, before the manifold abuses of later periods crept in, and as far as regarded *himself*, enjoyed blessings far beyond what the pre-

sent race of philosophers could promise us, even were the *best* of their plans to take the *fullest* effect. He was himself a *link* in the chain of *subordination*, that connected together a number of human beings in peace, order, tranquillity, and contemplative devotion.* — How far these institutions affected the *public* weal, would be a discussion too weighty and extensive for the present work: but we may venture to affirm that the *commonalty*, at least, must have beheld these monastics, while they retained their primitive simplicity and purity of manners, with reverence and the desire of imitation. Disturbed more frequently, than at present, by the ambitious wars of their princes, and by the turbulent peace of their tyrant barons, it was probably owing to this order of men that they did not entirely degenerate into barbarism and brutal ferocity. That such institutions are necessary, or even expedient in the present times, few would be so bigotted as to affirm: — especially if it be considered how generally we possess, and how greatly we have improved on,

* What the ci-devant *comtesse de Genlis* says, in a late work, of the monks of *La Trappe*, very nearly accords with my ideas of these institutions in general, in their early and purer state.

“ From their original endowment, and the bequests of private individuals, they are sufficiently wealthy to afford three days hospitality to every poor traveller who passes that way. When all the beds in the house are occupied, the traveller is accommodated at the inn, and his expences defrayed by the monks. If, during these three days, he falls sick, they take care of him till his recovery; he is attended by their surgeon, supplied by them with medicines; the monks also visit him, dress his wounds, &c. If any poor traveller be in want of money to pursue his journey, they give him as much as is necessary to carry him to the place of his destination. Not a day passes without their being visited by persons of this description, particularly soldiers. It frequently happens that the gratitude and admiration which so much benevolence inspires, induce the persons who are the objects of it to become members of their fraternity, and pass their lives with them. Indeed whoever is in pursuit of *virtue* in all its perfection, will find it only here, under a form, it may be, somewhat too *austere*, but so *true*, so *sublime*, that it is not at all astonishing that a mind susceptible of enthusiasm should resolve upon the great sacrifice. These monks also assist and take care of *all the poor* in the neighbourhood *for many leagues round*. I interrogated a great number of the peasants, who spoke of them with the respect and veneration, that we should feel for angels if they were to condescend to reside among us. Shew me the individuals that, with the same revenues, can do an equal portion of good, both by their example and their beneficence! Where shall we find such virtues, unless religion inspires them!”

The greater credit may be given to the above recital, as the good lady who wrote it cannot easily be suspected of a *partiality* for monastic institutions.

on, those relics of ancient literature and science which were, by means of these ufeless and reviled beings, preserved and handed down to posterity.*

“ But *superstition* and *ignorance*, the parents of every vice, and of *persecution*, the most horrid of them all, were then triumphant.” — They confessedly were:—but that superstition and ignorance are more likely to beget intolerance, than the opposite extremes *infidelity*, and what is falsely stiled *philosophy*, cannot so easily be granted. Our own times, in fact, have plainly evinced to us, that this idea, though prevalent so long, is merely a vulgar error; and that there exists no *bigot*, like an *infidel*;—no *persecutor*, like an *atheist*. How often have we found these inconsistent philosophers lamenting in their writings the sad effects of this persecuting spirit, in former ages! How often have we smiled at their just sarcasms on its inefficacy to effect any useful purpose!—Yet to these truths, as they respect themselves, they seem wholly and judicially blind. They do not perceive that their fond efforts will probably occasion the revival of a more fervent and purer Christianity than, at present, prevails in Europe.—That this may eventually happen, every true friend to the human race must ardently wish; and by setting before our eyes a striking example of the goodly effects produced, even by a *temporal suspension* of the Christian maxims, these worthies have unintentionally taken the nearest way to promote such a most desirable event. We may now, not unreasonably, hope to retrieve that happy medium between *superstition* and *rational* Christianity, (another word for *infidelity*,) which it is so difficult to attain; or, when attained, to render permanent. We may yet be preserved from a squalid laxity, both of morals and religion; and, at length, avert that period, of late so much to be dreaded, when every vice that could dishonour the true Christian or real gentleman should meet with its abettors, and even with some degree of the public countenance and support.

APPENDIX

* Domestic comforts, doubtless the greatest of all, are, it is true, to be omitted in the list of blessings that could be enjoyed in a state of monkish celibacy. The “*Ou peut on etre mieux qu'en sein de sa famille,*” though of late so prostituted by French faction, is nevertheless as true in morality, as beautiful in the music of the elegant *Gretri*. But it may reasonably enough be questioned, whether the absolute privation of these comforts would be much worse than the confusion that would be introduced in them by these reformers:—who, making light of the matrimonial engagement, would, of course, poison all the sources of conjugal as well as parental happiness.

A P P E N D I X

OF

C H A R T E R S, &c.

RELATING TO THE

A B B E Y O F E V E S H A M.

Num. I. Carta *Kenredi* et *Offæ*.

[Dugdale, vol. 1. p. 145,
ex Registro de Evesham
in bib. Cott. fol. 64. a.]

✠ **I**N nomine patris, et filii, & spiritûs sancti, Amen. Quoniam transeuntis quidem mundi vicissitudo cotidie per incrementa temporum crescit, et crescendo decrescit, et ampliando minuitur, crescentibus repentinis variorum incursum ruinis, finis esse cunctis in proximo cernitur; ideo vanis ac transilibus rebus, mansura cœlestis patriæ præmia mercanda sunt. Quapropter ego *Kenredus*, Dei dono rex *Merciorum*; et ego *Offa*, divinâ permissione *Orientalium Anglorum* gubernator, pro redemptione animarum nostrarum ac predecessorum nostrorum, et subsequen-
tium salute, donamus, concedimus in loco in quo beata Virgo *Maria* se venerabili viro *Egwino* manifestavit, in *HOMME*, et præsentî libello confirmamus, ad honorem et reverentiam ejusdem Dei genitricis, lxvij. mansas ex duabus partibus fluminis quod vocitatur *Avena*. Tres videlicet quæ sunt in *HOMME*. In *LENCH-WIC* j. In *Nortona* vij. In *OFFEHAM* j. In *Littletona* xiiij. In *Aldingtona* j. In *Baddefeia* v. et dimid. In *Bretfortona* xii. In *Huniburna* ij. et dimid. In *Willerfeia* vij. In *Wicwona* iij. In *Benigworthia* et in *Hamtona* ix. Et ex mera liberalitate, sicut dignum est, et regali munificentia, prænominatas mansas, ubi manifestatio habita fuisse refertur, cum cæteris partibus præassignatis, regiæ libertati donamus, ac omnipotenti Deo, ac beatis apostolis eius *Petro* et *Paulo* in perpetuum liberas commendamus, quatinus ibidem congregatio monachorum, secundum regulam beati *Benedicti*, possit instaurari, et indefinenter Christo famulari. Ad majorem autem nostræ donationis firmitudinem, in notitiam tam præsentium quam in posterum succedentium venire volumus quibus limitibus facer locus quem regiæ libertati donatum Deo contulimus, circumseptus includitur.

In

In primis a *Twysford* ex parte australi usque in *Cronochomme*, juxta decursum fluminis, ambitus loci protrahitur, ac inde juxta aquam usque ad divisionem terræ de *Fladeburg*, quæ *Meredic* appellatur, & sic in directum per ascensum montis per medium **Ældegaren* ad *Ealdeneswinhage*, ab *Ealdeneswinhage* ad *Boelagesette*, a *Boelagesette* in *Horthcnol*, ex quo per *Lenedune* usque ad divisiones terrarum de *Lench*, et de *Herverton* in *Wennecumbe*. Inde per *Fulanbroc* usque in *Harenwilles* et ab *Harenwilles* in *Carkeford*. Ac inde in *Goldwelle*, et sic in longum rivuli, usque in *Smalmorefic*, ac inde in *Avenam*, et sic in *Offepole*; ab *Offepole* in *Pikereshomme*, a *Pikereshomme* in *Burglences*, a *Hlence* in *Ealdenedune*, ab *Ealdenedune* in *Ealdenemixan*, ex quo in *Buggildestret* in *Senieslod*, ac inde in *Chirchestige*, a *Chirchestige* in *Flittindgare*, et sic in *Blackanpit*. A parte tamen orientali non longe a *Blakenpit* in *Merethurne*, a *Merethurne* in *Huniburne*, ex quo per *Northamere* in *Easthammore*, inde in circuitu prati de *Poddenho*, dehinc in *Podemore*, et sic in *Herienhal*. Iterum in *Huniburne* in longum rivuli, usque ad *Staintesforth*. Iterum in *Buggildstret* versus *Scenedune*, ac inde in *Merebroc*, a *Merebroc* in *Meredic*, et sic in *Winburne* in *Lalesthorn*, a *Lalesthorn* in *Lavergeboerge*, a *Lavergeboerge* in *Poddenhomme*, a *Poddenhomme* in *Polthorn*, a *Polthorn* in *Merebroc*, et sic in *Stantanhullestige*, a *Sice* in *Bureswelle*, a *Bureswelle* in *Bureswalles*, ac inde in *Ealdegare* quod indigine *nanes monnes-land* vocant, secus *Buggildestret*, ex quo, a parte occidentali usque ad *Boerges*, a *Boerges* in *Halwichestan*, ab *Alwichestan* in *Cademunstre*, a *Cademunstre* in *Blechmere*, a *Blechmere* in *Bracedestane*, a *Bracedestane* in *Ealdgare* in *Willerseiam*, a *Willerseia* in *Sondbroc*, ex quo in *Hegewege*, et sic in *Northhomme*, a *Northhomme* in *Brerthurne*, dehinc in *Hecheneige*, ab *Echeneige* in *Badeswelle*, a *Welle* in *Littlethurne*, a *Thurne* per *Pichedesho* in *Prestesmede*, ac inde in *Merethorne*, a *Merethorne* in *Brodemere*, a *Brodemere* in *Eastmerelowe*, inde in *Poticot*, a *Poticot* in *Thrithiacre*, et sic in *Rugweie*, a *Rugweie* in *Meredic*, a *Meredic* in *Wadberegwe*, a *Beregwe* in *Lihtemedede*, iterum per *Meredic* in *Esenburnen*, iterum in *Meredic*, deinde in *Wurtemede*, et sic in *Merebroc*, per *Merebroc* usque in *Domnipol*, ex quo in *Hallesburge*, ab *Hallesburge* in *Merewelle*, a *Merewelle* iterum in *Avenam*.

Volumus insuper ac decernimus, in nomine domini, terram quinque cassatorum quæ *Mortona* nuncupatur, eadem libertate in perpetuum gaudere: quam quidem terram ego *Kenredus* rex *Merciorum*, anno dominicæ incarnationis dccij. cum jam, una cum venerabili viro *Egwino* episcopo, apostolorum limina visitare disponerem, inter quædam alia donaria ad fabricam monasterii construendi in *HOMME* concessi eidem, et sub testimonio plurium potentum meorum scripto confirmavi. Statuimus igitur in nomine domini et in virtute Dei summi præcipimus, tam viventibus, quam, domini prædestinatione, nobis in posterum succedentibus, ut hujus donationis seu libertatis statuta, ad irritum deducere minimè quispiam audeat. Si quis autem hoc nostræ munificentiae donum depravare vel diminuere, seu quolibet modo alienare versutus attemptaverit, deleatur nomen ejus de libro vitæ, et æterna miserrimus, cum complicitibus suis, damnatione puniatur, nisi prius satisfactione digna emendaverit, quod contra nostrum [decretum obstinatus presumpsit. Amen.—] Acta sunt hæc anno dominicæ incarnationis dccix. in ecclesia salvatoris *Lateran.* confirmante *Constantino* Romanæ sedis antistite, astantibus et confirmantibus regibus *Angliæ* *Kenredo* et *Offa*, rogante venerabili viro *Egwino* episcopo, cum pluribus archiepiscopis,

* The names of the following places are in the Saxon letter.

pis, et episcopis, principibus, ac nobilibus diversarum provinciarum, cunctis clamantibus, et dicentibus, nos hanc voluntatem, et regiam liberalitatem laudamus, donationibus, ac libertatibus consentimus.

Ego *Constantinus Romanæ* sedis episcopus, per hoc signum ✕ sanctæ crucis, has donationes in libertatem hanc confirmavi.

✕ Ego *Egwinus* episcopus humilis confirmavi.

✕ Ego rex *Kenredus* corroboravi.

✕ Ego rex *Offa* consensi.

Num. II. Epistola confirmationis *Constantini* Papæ.

[*The original of this is written in the Saxon character.*]

[Dugdale, vol. 1. p. 144. ex
Autographo in bib. Arundel.]

CONSTANTINUS episcopus, fervus fervorum, Brithwaldo Britanniarum ecclesiæ primati salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Venerabilem virum *Egwinum* episcopum, quem bis tua fraternitas ad apostolicam sedem misit, etiam nunc secundo manipulis justitiæ refertum tibi remittimus, monentes quatenus sic suos effectus adjuvando prosequeris, sicuti illum a Deo incepisse et in via Dei cucurrisse cognovisti. Porro, de visione illa, immo aperta ostensione, qua se beata virgo Maria ei manifestavit, eque ita certum esse teneamur quemadmodum de viri bonitate non dubitamus. Denique vigilantiam tuam admonemus, quatinus illis in partibus in quibus manifestatio habita fuisse refertur, concilium totius Angliæ cogas; episcopos, sacrique ordinis religiosas personas illuc convenire facias, optimatesque regni cum proceribus suis adesse præcipias, quibus in nomine domini congregatis denuntiamus, quod duo reges Angliæ *Kenredus* et *Offa*, cum quibus jam dictus episcopus ad limina apostolorum venit, in loco ostensæ visionis plurima de suis beneficiis in præsentia nostra regia libertate donata, et apostolica auctoritate confirmata contulerunt, quatinus ibidem congregatio monachorum, secundum regulam memorandi patris *Benedicti*, quæ minus in illis partibus adhuc habetur possit instaurari et indefinenter Christo famulari. Ipsas autem donationes et beneficia præfati reges in ipsorum privilegio nominatim determinaverunt, et a nobis corroborari fecerunt. Igitur, frater dilecte, quoquomodo Christo annuntietur lucrum Christi require, opus Christi exerce, promulgatisque in concilio sententiis, tu a Deo ostensæ visionis, tum apostolicæ auctoritatis, tum regis libertatis et donationis, tum tui ipsius clerique et populi assensus

et

et favoris, constitue ovile Christo divinitus ostensum, apostolica auctoritate fultum, regia libertate donatum, cleri et populi benedictione sancitum. Tibi autem et successoribus tuis, memorato *Egwin*o episcopo assentiente, curam animarum ejusdem ecclesiae praecipue injungimus, ut si, quod absit, aliquo diaboli impulsu quisquam pervasor aut tyrannus sacrum locum minuere aut impugnare praesumpserit, tibi a Deo concessae potestatis sententia, et anathematis percussus verbere complere non audeat. Si quid vero sinistrae partis inibi compertum fuerit oriri, auribus summi pontificis patriae potius deferatur, quam per alicujus occultam sententiam sanctus locus injuste depravetur. Ipsum ergo locum quam regia potestas regiae libertati donavit, et nos auctoritate Dei et sanctorum apostolorum et nostra donamus, ut nullus cujuscunque ordinis homo hoc quod constituimus depravare aut minuere praesumat. Qui hoc destruxerit, aut male contaminaverit, sit ille maledictus. Qui vero servaverit et adauxerit benedictionibus repleatur. — Scripta haec epistola anno dominicae incarnationis DCCIX. in ecclesia salvatoris Lateranensi, praecipiente et confirmante *Constantino* apostolicae sedis antistite, assistantibus et confirmantibus regibus Angliae *Kenredo* et *Offa*, rogante venerabili viro *Egwin*o episcopo, coram pluribus archiepiscopis et episcopis et principibus et nobilibus diversarum provinciarum, cunctis clamantibus et dicentibus, quicquid in hac constitutione vestra sanctitas exercet, laudamus, concedimus et confirmamus.

✕ Ego *Constantinus* Romanae sedis episcopus per signum sanctae crucis has donationes et libertatem confirmavi.

✕ Ego *Egwinus* humilis episcopus confirmavi.

✕ Ego *Kenredus* rex corroboravi.

✕ Ego *Offa* rex consensi.

Num. III. Carti *Egwin*i *Wigorniensis* episcopi.

[Dugdale, vol. I. p. 146.
ex eodem MSto.]

EGO *Egwinus*, *Wicciorum* humilis episcopus, volo manifestare omnibus fidelibus Christi, qualiter per sancti spiritus inspirationem, et per labores multarum & magnarum visionum ostensum est mihi, quod ego primum unum locum edificare deberem ad laudem & gloriam omnipotentis Dei et Sanctae *Mariae*, omnium electorum Christi, et etiam mihi ad eternam retributionem. Cum igitur maxime florere in diebus *Ethelredi* regis, expeti ab eo locum qui *HAUM* nuncupatur, in quo loco sancta et perpetua virgo *Maria* primum cuidam pastori gregum, *Eoves* nuncupato, dehinc etiam mihi cum duabus virginibus librum in manibus tenens apparuit. Mundavi igitur lo-

cum, opusque inceptum, Dei optimi laudetur gratia, ad finem perduxī. Volo igitur ostendere omni sequenti generationi quas possessiones supradicto loco acquisivi, et ipsas terras ab omni exactione potestatum omnium adquietavi, ipsamque adquietationem apostolicis auctoritatibus et privilegiis, necnon et regalibus edictis confirmari feci, ut fratres secundum regulam sancti *Benedicti* inibi Deo servientes sine perturbatione vitam agerent. Nomina etiam villarum volo manifestare, quas omnes liberas et iuste acquisitas Deo et sanctæ *Mariæ* obtuli. Itaque ab *Athelredo* rege quoddam cœnobium, quod *Flendaburch* nominatur obtinui, quod postea pro alio cœnobio quod *Streatforda* nominatur mutavi, post parvum vero tempus a predicti regis fratre *Oswardo* viginti mansas in loco qui *Troiford* appellatur acquisivi.

Postea vero succedente in regnum *Kenredo* concessit et ipse mihi octoginta quatuor mansas super utrasque partes illius fluminis, quod *Avona* vocitatur. Quidam autem adolescens, *Athericus* nomine, octo mansas mihi concessit, et *Walterus* venerandus sacerdos alias octo mihi mansas donavit. Sicque Deo propitio brevi tempore CXX. mansas predictæ Christi ecclesiæ acquisivi, sicut scriptum est et confirmatum in chartis ecclesiæ, et in libro manifestatur terra et termini ejus, quem scripsit *Brichtwaldus* episcopus, et dictavit precepto *Romani* pontificis, cum consensu principum totius *Angliæ*. Hæc vero sunt nomina villarum quas, ut supradictum est, acquisivi; EOESHAM, BENYAGURTH, HANTUN, BADDESEY, WICQUE, HABURNE, BRADFORTUN, WIL-
LERSLEY, WITHLEY, SAMBURN, KINWARTUN, SALT FORD major et minor; AM-
BRESLEY, ULBEORY, MORTUN, BUCHTUN, MELEYGARESBERRIE, TITTLESTROM-
PE, *Snella* major, MAYELDESBEORDY, SILDSWICK quoque. Has omnes terras, ut prefatus sum, liberas ab omni calumnia acquisivi et sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ obtuli. Qui ergo locum quem apostolica dignitas et regia potestas regia libertate donavit, et nos auctoritate Dei et sanctorum apostolorum donamus, depravare aut minuere vel contaminare presumpserit, judicetur ante tribunal Christi, et nunquam in Christi veniat memoriam, nisi in hac vita penitens emendet. Qui vero servaverit et adauxerit, benedictionibus repleatur. Fiat. Amen.—Scripta est hæc charta anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCxiv.

✕ Ego *Egwinus* per signum sanctæ crucis.

✕ Ego *Kenredus* rex subscripsi.

✕ Ego *Offa* per signum crucis confirmavi.

✕ Ego *Brichtwaldus* archiepiscopus subscripsi.

Ego *Oswardus* frater ejus confirmavi.

Num. IV. Carta *Egwini* de *Fledanbyrg*.

[Dugdale, vol. 1. p. 121.
ex Reg. Wigorn. in Bib.
Cott. Tiberius A. 13.
fol. 10. a.]

REVERENTISSIMÆ semper memoriæ pontificis *Ostfori*, ego *Ecuine* Deo dispensante successor in episcopatum existo. Monasterium autem cui nomen est *Fledanburch*, quod in hac eadem cartula ex altera ejus parte eidem prædicto prædecessori meo subscriptione regali traditum afferatur, huic venerabili nostro secundum seculum principi *Æthelheardo*, quantum id a me fieri potest, in possessionem concedo, ea tamen conditione, ut semper inibi cœnobialis vitæ statuta servantur. Pro recompensatione vero hujus nostræ donationis, in loco cui nomen est *aet Stretforda* xx. cassatorum terram ab eo in jus ecclesiasticum accepi. Sciendum tamen me rationabili quadam causa compulsus id voluisse facere ut ei xliiij. manentium terram pro viginti manentis darem, id est, ea conditione ut post diem ejus terra ista sine contradictione alicujus ad *Weogernenssem* ecclesiam in jus episcopali sit donata mihi et illi *Ostforo*que meo antecessori elemosinam sempiternam. Pax confirmantibus atque servantibus: minuentibus vero vel contradicentibus dispersio perveniat sempiterna. — *Æthelric*

Æthelbert

Omulinge abbas.

Hii sunt confirmatores et testes.

Num. V. Carta *Offæ* Regis Merciorum de *Eowengolad*.

[Chart. Heming. p. 638. ex
Vesp. B. xxiv. in bib. Cott.]

IN nomine Domini Summi: Ego *Offa*, Almi regnantis gratiâ Rex *Merciorum*, partem terre juris mei, quam largifluâ benevolentia Dominus gratis donavit, *Efme* Comiti, Præfectoque meo, rura trium tributarium vocat. *Eowengolad* perdonabo; anno ab Incarnatione Domini, DCC lxxxiiij, et regni mei, xxvij. Et sic ager hoc pretio emptus est; C. oves, XXX. boves et

X 2

vaccas.

vaccas. XXX. equos idomitas (sic) dedit. Rus etiam hoc modo donatum est, et suum masculum possideat et non femininum; et post obitum profapie illius data sit tam villa, quam universa terra, que in sua potestate est, ad religiosam Ecclesiam que nuncupatur *Evesham*.

Ego *Offa*.

Ego *Cinedred*.

Ego *Borthunus*.

Num. VI. Carta *Edwardi* Regis de terra eadem.

[Chart. Heming. p. 639. ex
Vesp. B. xxiv. in bib. Cott.]

IN nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego *Eadwardus* Rex sum testis, quòd *Mannie* Abbas, et *Æthelwius* Monachus, emerunt ab *Eammero* terram, que ab incolis vocitatur *Eunelade*; et ego concedo ex mēa parte, ut semper sit ad mensam (sic) fratribus: Et si aliquis foras miserit, Deus mittat eum foras de Paradiso. His testibus consentientibus, quorum hīc inferius nomina carraxari (sic) videntur.

✕ Ego *Eadwardus*, Rex Anglorum, subscripsi.

Ego *Edsinus*, Dorobernensis Ecclesie Archipreful, consensi.

Ego *Ælfricus*, Eboracensis Archipreful, consensi.

Ego *Lifing* Episcopus consensi.

Ego *Ealdred* Episcopus consensi.

Ego *Wlfsing* Episcopus consensi.

Ego *Æthelstan* Episcopus consensi.

Ego *Dodeca* Episcopus consensi.

Ego *Stigand* Episcopus consensi.

Ego *Eadnoth* Episcopus consensi.

Ego *Willelm* Episcopus consensi.

Ego *Leofric* Dux consensi.

Ego *Godwine* Dux consensi.

Ego *Siward* Dux consensi.

Ego *Swegn* Dux consensi.

Ego *Beorn* Dux consensi.

Ego *Ælfgor* Minister consensi.

Ego

Ego *Ælfstan* Minister consensi.
 Ego *Mergeat* Minister consensi.
 Ego *Owine* Minister consensi.
 Ego *Ælfnod* Minister consensi.
 Ego *Mannig* Abbas consensi.
 Ego *Godwine* Abbas consensi.
 Ego *Ælfric* Abbas consensi.
 Ego *Æglwine* Decanus consensi.
 Ego *Wlmer* Minister consensi.

Num. VII. Carta *Ælfgar* Ducis de *Deilesford*.

[Chart. Heming. p. 640. ibidem.]

IN Nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego *Ælfgarus* Dux demonstro ad omnes fideles Dei, quod ego reddidi, per licitum Domini mei Regis *Eadwardi*, terram que dicitur *Deilesford* *Ægelwio* Abbati, propter sex marcas auri, ad opus Sancte Marie de *Eovesham* in cibum (sic) fratribus; audiui enim, et scio, quia illa terra antiquitus jacuit ad Ecclesiam, et ideo reddidi ei: Et siquis de Ecclesia retraxerit, de regno Christi retrahatur.

✕ Ego *Eadwardus* Rex Anglorum, subscripsi.
 Ego *Eadgith* Regina consensi.
 Ego *Stigandus* Archiepiscopus consensi.
 Ego *Aldredus* Archiepiscopus consensi.
 Ego *Wlwi* Episcopus consensi.
 Ego *Willelm* Episcopus consensi.
 Ego *Siward* Episcopus consensi.
 Ego *Leofric* Dux consensi.
 Ego *Harald* Dux consensi.
 Ego *Ælfgar* Dux consensi.
 Ego *Tosting* Dux consensi.
 Ego *Leofwine* Dux consensi.
 Ego *Ælfwine* Abbas consensi.
 Ego *Ælfsi* Abbas consensi.
 Ego *Brand* Abbas consensi.

Num.

Num. VIII. Carta *Leofrici* Comitis de terra de *Hamtune*.

[Dugdale, vol. 2. p. 852.
ex reg. Eves. f. 26. a.]

EGO *Leofricus* Comes manifesto in Brevi isto; quod terram quæ vocatur *Heamtune*, ad Monasterium de *Evesham* dedi; et misi in illam Ecclesiam, quam ego et conjux mea *Godgyve* ibidem in honore Sanctæ et individuæ *Trinitatis*, pro animabus nostris devote ædificavimus; et hoc cum victu et hominibus, et omnibus rebus et consuetudinibus ad eandem pertinentibus, ita sicuti ego ipse unquam melius illam in manu meâ tenui et possedi: Et ego, quamdiu vixero, illius terræ procurator et defensor esse volo; et consentire nolo, ut aliquis injusticiam in eâ faciat plus nunc, quàm tunc, quando in manu meâ ipsum habui, et in eâ sedi. Istam terram ex dono regio accepi; et ad eam, sicut *Cnut* Rex mihi concessi, veni, quia suæ erat potestatis eam concedendam cui vellet tradi; nam frater meus *Normannus* illam ante me habuit, sicut Rex *Ethelredus*, ad relinquendum, post se, cui hæredi voluisset libenter ei, pro suo grato servicio eam concessit; quia ex prævaricatione in jus ejus, recto nobilium suorum judicio, accepit; et ipse frater meus tam diu sine clamore et calumpniâ omnis hominis in eâ sedebat et possidebat, quamdiu vivebat; et ego post eum quantum michi placuit; Et qui modo habent, sicuti ego habui, volo ut ipsi habeant. Iste brevis scriptus habetur, ut sit in testimonium et meæ elemosinæ stabile firmamentum, quam Ecclesiæ concessi servis Dei, ad eorum victum. Modo est *Birteus* Episcopus testis hujus meæ donationis, et totus Comitatus *Wigorniensis* Civitatis. Deus totius mundi creator et rector, qui cuncta creavit et fecit, et cunctorum corda scrutatur et renes, cunctos qui huic meæ donationi adjuverint, ut firma sit, suâ benedictione multiplicet, et custodiat: Et accrescere qui voluerint, cunctis bonis crescant et repleantur.

Num. IX. Carta Regis *Willielmi*, terras ad *Eveshamensem* Abbathiam, in *Warwicensi* Comitatu jacentes, confirmans.

[Dugdale, ibidem.]

W REX *Anglorum* W. Episcopo, et R. Vicecomiti salutem: mando vobis et præcipio, quatinus *Adekinum* Abbatem terras Ecclesiæ de *Evesham*; *Saltforda* scilicet et *Edricestun*, et *Milecotam*, et *Ragele*, et *Arwam*, et *Eccleshalam*, et *Bildeburgwth*, et *Grafton*. et *Withlakesford*,
et

et *Dorfitone*, et alias terras, quas in Vicecomitatu de *Warewic* habet, cum magno honore et quietè tenere faciatis, ut eas habeat et teneat ad usus fervorum Dei, cum meâ bonâ pace et protectione: Et tibi præcipio R. Vicecomes, ut non consentias, quod aliquis injusticiam de aliquâ re faciat: quia consentire nolo; set cum *saca* et *foca*, et omnibus consuetudinibus plenaliter suas res teneat: Et si ei aliquis injustitiam facere præsumperit, clamet ad me Abbas et ego ei plenam rectitudinem, de quibus clamaverit, faciam.

Num. X. Carta *Roberti* de *Stafford*, donationem de *Wrotefleie* et *Livintone*, per *Robertum* avum suum, confirmans.

[Dugdale ex Reg. de Eves. f. 52. a.]

SCIANT universi, tam præsentis quàm futuri, quod ego *Robertus* de *Staffordia*, et *Robertus* filius meus et hæres, concessimus et confirmavimus, et præsentis scripto atque figillo corroboravimus donationes terrarum illarum, scilicet *Wrotefleie* et *Livintone*, quas *Rodbertus* avus meus contulit, et Pater meus *Nicholaus* concessit Ecclesiæ de *Eovefham*, et Monachis ibidem Deo fervientibus; ut prænominata Ecclesia terras illas prædictas habeat et possideat in puram atque perpetuam elemosinam; atque imperpetuum teneat prædicta Ecclesia prædictas terras liberas et quietas, et solutas ab omni exactione et seculari servicio, tam regio, quam ad me et ad hæredes meos pertinente; in sylvis, in pratis, et in pascuis, et in omnibus assiammentis, quæ ad prædictas villas pertinent. — Hiis testibus,

Rodberto filio *Odonis*,
Willielmo de *Witteleia*,
Rodberto fratre ejus,
Godfrido Bras,
Johanne Constabulario,
Rogero de *Ulehale*,
Rodberto Clerico, — et pluribus aliis.

Num. XI. Carta *Waldemari* Regis *Danorum* de Priorate de *Othenesie* in *Dania*,
cella de *Evesham*.

[Dugdale ex Reg. de Evesh.]

WALDEMARUS Dei gratia Rex Danorum, universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis salutem. Quod antiqua prædecessorum majestas firmavit, nullatenus volumus infirmare, verum prout debemus, et possumus, roborare, et ampliare. Notum satis est, et verum est, quod cum avus meus, piæ memoriæ *Ericus*, apud *Othenesei* monachos habere desponderet, suggerente et constituente *Hubaldo* tunc ibidem episcopo, ædificatores primos de ecclesia *Eveshamensi*, et monasticæ religionis institutores accepit. Dignum itaque judicamus, ut confederationem ecclesiæ de *Othenesei* quam habet ad matrem suam ecclesiam de *Evesham*, et dignitatem quam habet ecclesia *Eveshamensis* in filiam ecclesiam de *Othenesei*, a præfuto avo meo *Erico* confirmatam, auctoritate nostra firmemus: Ut scilicet ecclesia de *Othenesei* matrem suam de *Evesham* veneretur, concilium, et auxilium in desolatione ab ea quærat. Ecclesia de *Evesham* filiam suam, ecclesiam de *Othenesei*, et filios inibi habitantes, diligat, et foveat. Prior loci de *Othenesei*, apud *Evesham* vel *Otheneseiam*, electus, auctoritate matricis ecclesiæ de *Evesham* firmetur. Si quis frater cum licentia ad utroslibet venerit, sicut Monachus ecclesiæ suscipiatur, nec in aliquo, quod ad fratres ecclesiæ pertineat, fiat alienus. Sic usque ad tempora nostra fuisse, et sic esse debere, et hæc *Otheniensis*, et illa *Eveshamensis* testatur ecclesia, quod et nos in omnibus imperpetuum observari volumus, et auctoritate nostra præcipimus, et ne ducatur id in irritum, at inconcussum et ratum maneat, sigilli nostri testimonio confirmamus. Hæc conservantes conservet Dominus, renitentes et obloquentes impugnet altissimus. Amen. — Data est carta anno Dominicæ incarnationis MCLxxiiij. per manum fratris Willielmi a corpore ecclesiæ de *Evesham* tunc in Priorem electi, et ad regimen prioratus, *Otheneseiam* transmissi, et per propriam manum nostram ibidem introducti, præfidenti tunc eidem loco venerabili episcopo S. et presente *Fretherico Hethebiensi* episcopo.

Pro carta episcopi *Otheniensis* anglice reddita, vide caput de *consuetudinibus*.

Num. XII. Carta Ricardi Buffell de Penewertham.

[Dugdale vol. 1. p. 360. ex Reg. de
Evesh. penes Ric. Fleetwood.]

NOVERINT presentes et posterī quod ego Ricardus Buffell, concedo, et scripto meo et sigillo meo confirmo ecclesiæ de *Evesham*, omnem donationem, et totam elemosinam quam fecit pater meus Warinus prædictæ ecclesiæ, videlicet, ecclesiam de *Penewertham*, cum decimis et omnibus pertinentiis suis, et *Farington*, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et in *Longetona* duas bovatas terræ, & de ecclesia *Leilandia*, tres solidos, et duas partes decimæ de dominio, et de capella de *Moles* duos solidos, et duas partes de dominio de *Frechelton*, et *Warinton*, piscationem unius retis liberam, et quietam, et totam decimanū couredii domus sue; et quod abbas habeat curiam suam in *Penverham* in omnibus tam liberam, sicut pater meus habuit suam, vel ego meam; Hæc sunt donationes quas ego postea donavi, videlicet, ecclesiam de *Leilandia* cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. De tota piscatione mea, excepta piscatione duarum retium, quartum piscem. In *Longetona* quatuor bovatas terræ; capellam de *Moles* cum omnibus pertinentiis suis.

Has prædictas donationes quas pater meus Warinus contulit prædictæ ecclesiæ de *Evesham*, et quas ego postea contuli, ego Ricardus Buffell concedo et presenti scripto atque sigillo meo confirmo, ut ecclesia de *Evesham* possideat, et pacifice teneat, liberas, et quietas, et ab omni seculari servitio et exactione solutas, in pratis, in pascuis, in aquis, in stagnis, in sabulonibus, in piscariis, in bosco, in plano, in pannagio, et omnibus libertatibus, et liberis consuetudinibus, in puram, et perpetuam elemosinam, pro salute mea, et hæredum meorum et pro anima patris mei et antecessorum meorum. — Hiis testibus,

Waltero Presbitero de *Prestona*,
Lidulfo de *Croftona*,
Ealwardo Presbitero de *Langeton*,
Gaufrido Capellano,
Osberno Capellano,
Radulpho Capellano,
Roberto diacono,
Osberno filio *Edmundi*,
Ormo filio *Magni*,
Warino filio ejus,
Sweni Child,

*Willielmo filio Alani,
 Huſtredo filio Sweni,
 Arctura de Arſton,
 Sweni de Penewertham,
 Ada fratre ejus,
 Sibilla forore ejus,
 Matilda forore ejus, et multis aliis.*

Num. XIII. Carta Abbatis *Eveſhamenſis* de *Hakewike* ad cellam *Penworthæ* ſpectante.

[Dugdale, ibidem.]

DOMINUS Abbas *M.* omniſque congregatio *Eveſhamii* talem conventionem cum hiis quatuor fratribus, *Wolfgeato*, *Sweno*, *Radulfo*, *Liulfo*, de terra quæ *Hokewike* dicitur, fecerunt, ſcilicet, quod dominus abbas dedit ſupradictis quatuor fratribus xxvij. fol. ex conventione, ut clament quietam omnem calumpniam quam habuerunt ſuper illam terram ſemper et in perpetuum. *Liulfus* vero unus ex illis devenit homo proprius abbatis, ea Conventione, ut teneat de illo unam partem ipſius terræ, et per ſingulos annos in nativitate ſanctæ *Mariæ*, centum Salmones, pro ipſa terra, bonos reddat. Hii vero ſunt teſtes hujus Conventionis,

Dominus Abbas
 Prior
 Benediſtus
 Aluredus.

Num. XIV. De conſolidatione Prioratus *Alenceſtrenſis* Abbatix de *Eveſham*.

[Dugdale, vol. 1. p. 473.]

REX (&c.)—Sciatis quod cum domus ſive abbatia de *Alenceſtria* in comitatu *Warwici*, *Wygorn*. dioc. ordinis ſancti *Benedicti*, foundationis inclitorum progenitorum noſtorum, noſtrique patronatus ratione ducatus noſtri *Lancaſtriæ* pleno jure exiſtens, ex negligentia et remiſſione diverſorum

diversorum abbatum ejusdem, aliisque infortunii sui casibus, in religione cultu divini servitii antiquitus habita et observata, ad sui dissolutionem devenit, in tantum quod abbas a diu solus remansit in eodem; Necnon pro eo quod fructus redditus et proventus ejusdem domus de primaria fundatione concessi ob temporum subsecutorum detrimenta in tantum decorruerunt, quod ad sustentationem congruam numeri monachorum ex fundatione ejusdem limitati, hospitalitatemque debitam et alia pietatis opera fubeunda, non sufficiunt. — Nos præmissa intime ponderantes, ad individuae *Trinitatis* et beate *Mariæ* virginis honorem, cultusque divini in ecclesia conventuali monasterii de *Evesham* ampliationem; necnon ad sustentationem congruam numeri monachorum, hospitalitatemque debitam, et alia pietatis opera in domo sive abbazia de *Alincestria* prædicta, de primaria fundatione ibidem limitata, perpetualiter habenda, tenenda, et observanda dedimus Ricardo abbati et conventui dicti monasterii de *Evesham*, et successoribus suis jus patronatus et advocationem domus sive abbatiæ de *Alincestria* prædicta, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, ea intentione ut ipse abbas et conventus dictam abbaziam de *Alincestria* cum suis juribus et pertinentiis, ipsis abbati et conventui et successoribus eorundem, et eorum monasterio de *Evesham*, consolidari uniri annexi appropriari et transferri procurent, et in ipsorum abbatis et conventus proprios usus perpetualiter possidendam concedere poterint. (&c.) — T. Rege apud Westm. xix. Maii.

Num. XV. Carta *Henrici Ducis Lancastrie* de terris, &c. monachis de *Evesham* concessis in *Penwortham*.

[Stev. Append. p. 135. ex
MS. in Bib. Cotton. Nero.
D. 3. fol. 246.]

HENRICUS Dux *Lancastrie*, Comes *Derbie*, *Lincolnie*, *Leycestrie*, ac *Senescallus* Anglie, omnibus dilectis et fidelibus suis tam ministris quam ballivis salutem. Noverint universi per presentes nos dedisse, concessisse, relaxasse et omnino de nobis et heredibus nostris quietum clamasse Abbati et Conventui *Eveshamie* et successoribus eorum imperpetuum omnes terras ac tenementa, messuagia, servicia, domus, reversiones, cum advocationibus ecclesiarum, capellarum, dignitatum, cum elemosinis, piscariis, panagiis, libertatibus, liberis curiis, communiis, estoveriis suis capiendi tam in bosco et plano quam in mora, marisco, et turbariis, tam de claudendo, edificando, et ad edificia et ad constructa reparanda, quam ad comburendum, et ad alia necessaria sua facienda, sine perturbatione nostri, heredum nostrorum seu ministrorum nostrorum, seu aliorum quorum cunque, que quidem terre, tenementa, messuagia, servicia, communia, reversiones, advocationes, dignitates, elemosine, piscarie, panagia, libere curie, communia, estoveria Abbas et Conventus habuerunt ante diem confectionis presencium in villa de *Penwortham*, *Faryngton*, *Howyke*, *Hoton*, *Longeton* et *Leylond*, et per eandem bundas et metas. Preter has donationes ego do et concedo et

figillo

figillo meo confirmo Deo et Sancte Marie et monachis in *Penwortham* Deo fervientibus quandam partem vasti nostri inter *Martynns*, *Bothomny* et *Brandeleggh* quod vocatur *Whadythegrenes* in eadem villa cum pertinentiis, et quod liceat eis dictum vastum claudere et ad utilitatem et usus suos proprios clausum tenere; habendum et tenendum de nobis et heredibus nostris in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam, sine aliquo servicio seculari, exactione seu demanda, nichil nobis vel heredibus nostris reservando, nisi tantum preces et orationes; et nos et heredes nostri omnes terras et tenementa per easdem metas et bundas et cetera supradicta Abbati et Conventui et eorum successoribus in perpetuum contra omnes gentes warantizabimus et acquietabimus et defendemus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium, &c.

Conventio inter *Wlstanum* episcopum et *Walterium* abbatem. [Vide caput de redditibus.]

[Chart. Heming. p. 75.]

HEC est confirmatio conventionis facte inter episcopum *Wlstanum* et *Walterium* abbatem de *Eovesham*, de xv. hidis in *Heamtone* et iiii. in *Benincwyrthe*:— hoc est, quod ipse abbas recognovit, teste omni conventu *Wigorniensis* ecclesie; et multis fratribus de *Eovesham*, et *Remigio* episcopo, et *Henrico de Fereris*, et *Waltero Giffardo*, et *Adam*, regis principibus qui venerant ad inquirendas terras comitatus, quod ille xv. hide iuste pertinent ad *Oswaldestawe* hundredum episcopi, et debent cum ipso episcopo censum regis solvere, et omnia alia servitia ad regem pertinentia, et inde idem requirere ad placitandum, et de iiij. hidis predictis in *Benincwyrthe* similiter. Set episcopus ibi plus calumniabatur, quia reclamabat totam ipsam terram ad suum dominium: set quia ipse abbas hoc humiliter recognovit, rogatu ipforum qui affuerunt, ipse episcopus permisit illam terram ipsi abbati et fratribus tali pacto, ut ipse abbas faciat inde tam honorabilem recognitionem et servitium, sicut ipse ab ipso episcopo et quam diu requirere poterit. Hujus Conventionis testes sunt prenominati barones regis, et alii quorum nomina hic habentur.

- ✕ *Serlo* abbas de Glocestre.
- ✕ *Nigellus* clericus *Remigii* episcopi.
- ✕ *Ulf* monachus *Remigii* episcopi.
- ✕ *Wlfi* presbiter.
- ✕ *Rannulfus* monachus ejusdem.
- ✕ *Edric* de *Hindelep*.
- ✕ *Alfwinus* monachus de sancto *Remigio*.
- ✕ *Godric* de *piria*.

✕ *Godrie*

- ✕ *Ailricus* archidiaconus.
- ✕ *Ordric* niger.
- ✕ *Frithericus* clericus.
- ✕ *Alfwinus* filius *Brihtneri*.

Ratificatio *Johannis* cardinalis et apostolicæ sedis legati de consuetudinibus
Eveshamensis Monasterii.

[Dugdale, vol. i. p. 149. ex
Autographo sub sigillis in
curia Augmentationum.]

JOHANNES Dei gratia sanctæ Mariæ in via lata diaconus cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legatus, dilectis fratribus abbati et conventui de *Eovefham* in vero salutari salutem. Ea quæ pro statu religionum locorum et observantia regulari provide statuuntur, firmiter et inviolabiter volumus observari. Eapropter vestris postulationibus annuentes, constitutiones quasdam pro statu monasterii et religionis observantia inter vos communi factas assensu, et redactas in scripto, prout rationabiliter et regulariter facta sunt, et ab utraque parte sponte recepte, legationis auctoritate qua fungimur confirmamus, et præsentis scripti patrocinio communimus. Hujus autem confirmationis autentikum sub communi custodia cum sigillo ecclesiæ nostræ servandum posuimus: et hæc omnia sigillorum nostrorum appositione roboravimus. Et ut hæc omnia imperpetuum immutilata firmiter observentur, magister *Rodbertus de Wlveia*, et magister *Thomas de Warewic*, et *Willielmus* fenescallus de *Eovefham*, ad petitionem et instantiam domini *R.* abbatis, eo præsentem, in animam ipsius abbatis, ipsum abbatem premissa omnia pro posse suo observaturum, et nos paterna dilectione tractaturum, et consilio conventus sui se usurum, tactis sacrosanctis evangeliiis juravit, et nos conventus singuli et universi hoc idem nos observaturos sub eadem cautela promissimus, et domino reverendo, obedientiam et reverentiam exhibituros quamdiu nos paterna tractaverit affectione. Et prædicti *Rodbertus*, *Thomas* et *Willielmus* jurati in testimonium præmissorum simul nobiscum sigilla sua apposuerunt.

*Epistola Petri Blesensis Londinenfis Archidiaconi ad Priorem et Conventum de
Evesham: — five consolatio monachorum in fui Abbatis absentia.*

[Stev. Appen. p. 146. ex
Vitellio D. 3. 1. fol. 131.]

DILECTIS fratribus et amicis P. Priori et Conventui de *Evesham P. Bles.* Lond. Archid. salutem, et si quid dulcius aut desiderabilius est salute. Afflictioni vestre totis animi precordiis et intensa caritate compaciens, epistolam vobis consolatoriam sub aliqua stili urbanitate decreveram scribere; set quia turba negotiorum mihi jugiter tumultuose incumbit, totus fere absorptus ab eis, aut non sum mecum, aut diversus et distractus sum, et sic dissipate sunt cogitationes mee, torquentes cor meum, ut vix non dicam epistolam possim scribere, sed breve brevissimum. Vos autem qui spirituales estis, quorum unicuique data est manifestacio spiritus ad utilitatem, in hujus tempestatis effluente malicia, novistis qualiter vobis oporteat conversare et luctari cum mundo. Mundus enim in maligno positus, plenus laqueis, plenus scandalis, et peccatis, circumseptus periculis, pravis colloquiis, iniquis consiliis, exemplis pessimis, et mortibus anime infinitis. Proinde redimamus tempus quum dies mali sunt, nec poterit vobis deesse solacium si velitis frequenter instare oracioni, sacreque scripture. Porro necesse est ut venient scandala, et probentur corda hominum, atque inter flagella domini prebeat improvisis vexatio intellectum. Omnes equidein filii ire sumus, et si nobis dominus iratus appareat, nos amorem ejus non odium estimantes, ipsi flagellum cum equanimitate portemus. Verbum Prophete est, Iram domini portabo quia peccavi ei. Flagellat nimirum dominus quem corripit, et in suis verberibus nobis memoriam habundantie sue suavitatis abscondit, ut quos facit humiles sibi conservet amabiles. Vult enim ut de patientia nostra, quia de longo, vite fructus spirituales, et justicie manipulos colligamus. Sunt autem fructus spiritus, teste Apostolo, caritas, gaudium, pax, longanimitas, bonitas, benignitas, mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continencia, castitas. Omnibus hiis privatur qui sustinentia caret; propter quod Salomon dicit, Ve hiis qui sustinentiam perdiderunt. Sustinenda vero sunt pacienter flagella domini quibus nos erudit ad salutem. Dejecit enim ut erigat, vulnerat ut sanet, ut pressura vertatur in gloriam et afflictio in coronam, ut qui prius flagellatus fuerit cum propheta decantet, Confitebor tibi, domine, quoniam iratus es mihi, conversus est furor tuus et consolatus es me. Quod autem dominus per *Sathanam* colofizari permisit Apostolum, fecit eum audire quod virtus in infirmitate perficitur; qui et de seipso dicit, Quum infirmior tunc forcior sum et potentior. Utinam sic vos corrigit et emendando emundet, ut non destruat, et fera penitentia vos oporteat querelari et dicere, Destruxisti nos ab emundatione; et illud, Multo sudore sudatum est et non exivit de ea rubigo; et rursus, Percussisti eos et non doluerunt. Dolete igitur et plangite saltem dispendia spiritualis exercitii. Ex hac enim turbatione perditis quietissimos *Rachel* amplexus, divine suavitatis experiencias,

experiencias, et beate contemplacionis excessus. Quomodo namque mens hominis perplexa et anxia et humanis sollicitudinibus intricata spiritualibus inherebit, aut cogitabit eterna? Sunt autem hujus mali occasio quidam inter conversus perversi, inter columbas corvi, angues inter anguillas, fufurrones, detractores, Deo odibiles. Hii ut habeant equitandi materiam, seminant zizania inter fratres, contumant dolos, fastidiunt manna, sanguineas dapes appetunt, mensuramque Gomor in ollas carniū atque in allia et pepones Egypti convertunt. Sic abhominaciones claustrales paradisi delicias exuunt, et post se trahentes seculum quem reliquerant, forensibus se ingerunt consistoriis, atque in viarum discursibus, et in tumultibus curiarum, quicquid meruerant dampnabili commercio pro eterna perdicione committunt. Denique facti transfuge et emanfores a clauistro, effrenes, vagi et Sarabaite, dantur in reprobū sensum, ut jam nec anime discrimen attendant, neque vereantur infamiam nec tremenda Dei judicia timeant, donec fodiat peccatori fovea, et penitendi facultate prorsus ablata a domino perpetua excommunicatione percussī corruant in gehennam. In tante igitur necessitatis articulo, psallite sapienter, orate serventer, instate vigiliis, ignitis computationibus, humilationibus arcanis, lachrimis, gemitibus, disciplinis. Sic enim dominus hanc procellam convertet in auram, et absque dubio divinum sentietis auxilium quibus denegatur humanum. Juravit dominus et non penitebit eum, nec mentietur veritas quod sub jure jurando firmavit, dicens, Amen, Amen, dico vobis, si quid petieritis patrem in nomine meo, dabit vobis. Quis ergo negligat pacem petere, nisi qui eam renuit impetrare? Corrigite quæso, et in dominum dirigite vias vestras, quia testimonio Salomonis cum placuerint viæ hominis domino tunc inimicos ejus convertet ad pacem. Obsecro autem vos, per misericordiam Dei, ut erga pastorem vestrum, qui pro communi libertate tam periculose viæ discrimini se exponit, fidem et sincerum atque indivisibilem habeatis affectum. Sitis etiam inter vos unanimes et unius moris in domo, nec sint in vobis schismata, sed unitas spiritus in vinculo pacis; ubi est enim pax ibi est Deus, nam in pace factus est locus ejus. Omnis equidem congregatio vel conventus debet esse cithara dd. ubi multe et diverse corde quodam regulari moderamine quasi quodam plestro de compositione diversa mentium dulcissime faciant harmonie concentum. Si sit ibi corda que rauce sonet aut strepat, ne inducat discordiam omni studio ad consonanciam reducat. Miror autem et conqueror quod apud dominum Canth. virum magne prudentie et consilii precellentis nullum supra hac turbacione remedium invenistis. Solent enim quolibet desperatas lites compescere, et inexorabiles magnatum discordias in gratiam reformare. Utinam vero nullam haberetis fiduciam in Romanis; nam ut aliqua que in libro experientie legi sub silencio claudam, illud possum vobis ad memoriam revocare, quod Machabeorum principes, quamdiu in domino consilii sunt, de hostibus suis reportavere titulos triumphales, et ex quo inierunt federa cum Romanis miserabiliter in prelio corruerunt. Vos autem confidite in domino; qui enim confidit in eo non confundetur: Turris fortissima nomen ejus Christus, heri et hodie et in eternum, nec abbreviata est manus ejus ut salvere non possit. Petite tantummodo in nomine salvatoris. Promitto enim quod nullam apud eum patiemini repulsam si salutaria postuletis.

Titles of other ancient Charters, &c. which on account of their length and number could not be inserted in full.

[Harl. MSS. 43. D. 28.]

CONFIRMATIO *Edw.* Regis Abbati de *Evesham* de terris in *Kynwarton* cum fig. [1. E. 3.]

[45. I. 27.] Carta *Walteri* de *Bello-Campo* Militis *Willielmo* Abbati de *Evesham* de iisdem cum fig. [1. E. 3.]

[xi. 55.] Licentia *Edwardi* Regis *Henrico* de *Ombreslegh* quod terras in *Darlyngescote* Conventui de *Evesham* dare possit cum mag. fig. [4. E. 4.]

[44. D. 37.] Littera procuratoria *Clementi* Abbatis exempti Monasterii B. M. et S. *Egwini* de *Evesham* ad Abbates *Winchcomb* et *Colchester*.

[xxvii. 193.] Scriptum *Johannis* fil. et her. *Malculmi Musard Willielmo* Abbati de *Evesham* de maneriis de *Wytheleye* in Com. *Warrewyk* et de terris in *Kyngleye* cum fig.

[Cotton MSS. *Vespasian B.* xxiv.] Carta inter *Th.* Abbatem de *Evesham* et *Willielmum* de *Tywe* de excambio terr. in *Hampton* pro terr. in *Lutlington*. [2. b.]

Obligatio *Johannis* Prioris *Evesham Willielmo* de *Tywe* filio *Ricardi* de *Tywe* pro 20 marcis argenti. — Anno 1243.

Obligatio *Johannis* Prioris *Evesham Moricio* Archidiacono *Glovernæ* pro 10 marcis. 1243.

Conventio inter *Abbatias* de *Evesham* et *Wyttby* de communicandis privilegiis.

Conventio cum Monasterio *Ebor.* de eodem.

Carta *Eylwini* Abbatis Ecclesiæ *Ethoniæ*, *Reynero* Capellano suo, et *Reſtori* Ecclesiæ S. *Andrea* *Wigorn.* de capella B. *Margaritæ* in predicta Ecclesia. [8. b.]

Carta *Randolf.* Abbatis *Evesham* & Conventus *Willielmo* de *Warleya* de decimis de *Pykeſleg.* superiori de terr. *Hugonis* de *Keheſwike* quod (sic) vixerit pro 40 den. annuatim solvendis. [10. b.]

Carta de controversia inter Monasterium *Eveshamenſe* et Monasterium *Winchelcumbenſe* super Capellam de *Huniberna* terminata. [11.]

Carta de controversia inter Monasterium *Eveshamii* et Ecclesiam de *Kenilworth* super Capellam de *Wiclakesford* decima. [11. b.]

Confirmatio ejusdem per *Rogerum Wigorn.* Episc.

Conventio inter Abbatem de *Evesham* et Priorem de *Keildewerda* super Capellam de parva *Salford*. [12.]

Scriptum

Scriptum *Savari* Abbatis *S. Mariæ Ebor. Willielmo* Abbati *Evesham* de serviciis pro defunctis fratribus. [12. b.]

Conventio confile in Abbatem *Mauricium* de *Evesham* et Abbatem *Willielmum* de *Hwitebi*. [13.]

Scriptum inter *R.* Abbatem de *Hwittebi* et *R.* Abbatem *Eveshamii* super Ecclesiam de *Huntindon*.

Adjudicatio *R. Wigorn.* Episc. in Controversia inter *Adam* Abbatem *Evesham* et *Ricardum* militem de *Aldringtona*. 1176.

Confirmatio *Wil. Wigorn.* Epi. Abbati de *Evesham* de 15. marcis ad constructionem et sustentationem operis Ecclesiæ *Evesham* de Ecclesia de *Ambresleya*. [13. b.]

Confirmatio ejusdem per *I. Wigorn.* Ep. [14.]

Carta *B. filii Comitis* Ecclesiæ de *Evesham* de Ecclesia de *Hildendon* cum tertia parte decimæ de dominio suo cum. terr. &c. apud *Oxebruge*.

Confirmatio *Gileberti Herefordensis* Episcopi de fundatione loci voc. *Sulstan* per *Hugonem* fil. *Rogeri*. [14. b.]

Finalis concordia inter Abbatem de *Evesham* et *Henricum* fil. *Philippi* de terr. in *Sudington*. [3. R. 1.]

Cartæ quatuor *Willielmi Regis* Abbatix de *Evesham* de privilegiis. [15.]

Carta *Admundi* Regis. (Saxonice.) 944. [15. b.]

Carta *Eadredi* Regis Anglorum. (Saxonice.) [16. b.]

Carta *Eadwig* Regis Anglorum *Athelgeardo* in insula *Veſta* (sic) v. manſas. [17.]

Carta *Cnut* Anglorum Regis et *Algivæ* suæ collateranæ Ecclesiæ de *Evesham* de quatuor manſis in *Badebi* et *Neweham* 1020. (Limites Saxonice.) [17. b.]

Finalis Concordia inter *Robertum* de *Wlveie* positum loco Abbatis de *Evesham* ad lucrand. et perdend. et *Leſtiam* et *Julianam* filias *Willielmi* de *Baddebi* de terr. in *Baddebi*. 2. R. 1. [21.]

Finalis Concordia inter *Will.* fil. *Roberti* de *Eſtenaſton* petentem et *Robertum* de *Wlveie* positum loco Abb. de *Evesh.* de terr. in *Neuham*. 3. R. 1.

Finalis Concordia inter *Will.* fil. *Stephani* de *Newham* petentem et Abbatem de *Evesham* de terr. in *Neweham*. 6. R. 2. [21. b.]

Finalis Concordia inter Abbatem de *Evesham* petentem et *Rogerym Hubert* quem calumpniabat esse villanum suum tenentem de terr. in *Neweham*. 10. R. 1.

Relaxatio *Hugonis* de *Sapy* Rectoris de *Ambresleye* Abbati de *Evesham* quod 13. l. argenti nomine pensionis annuæ quam de eadem ecclesia annuatim perceperant ab antico singulis annis eidem religiosis persolvere quam diu Rector fuero. 1319. [22.]

Johannes de *White* Vicarius perpetuus de *Leylond* *Willielmo* Abbati de *Evesham* quod 40s. argenti nomine pensionis annuæ fideliter eidem Abbati persolvam. 1332.

Carta *Adelwardi* subregulus *Oſberi* quondam regis *Wicciorum* filii de terr. *Ambresleye* concenſiente *Coenredo* rege *Merciorum* cum piscaria *Ombrefswell* et *Levarford* anno 706 et poſtea confirmata

firmata per *Ceolredum* regem Merciorum et *Athilbaldum* regem Merciorum et *Offa* rege Anglorum. [22. b.]

Carta *Athelbaldi* Regis de una portione mansionis in *Wico* (sic) emptorio falis quæ nos *Sallwich* vocamus ad ecclesiam de *Cronuchomme*. [24. b.]

Carta *Henrici* Regis ecclesiæ de *Evesham* et *Ada* Abbati de *Lx.* acris terræ in foresta de *Am-breslega*.

Carta *Will.* Regis *Willielmo* Abbati de *Evesham* de *Wesluny*, (sic) *Swella*, et *Keninwortha* confirmata per *O.* Bajocensem Episcopum.

Carta *Edelredi* Regis Ministro suo *Nordmanno* de v. manentibus in *Heamtune*.^{*} 928. [25.]

Carta confirmationis *Will.* Regis Abbatix de *Evesham*. [25. b.]

Carta *A.* Abbatis *Evesham* *Godefrido* Servienti Abbatis de terr. in *Hamtona* quamdiu superstes erit reddendo 2s. 2d. per annum. [28.]

Carta *Ailrici* *Oferi* Regis filii viij. videlicet manentium in *Childefwicwon* consentiente Rege *Kenredo* ad locum qui dicitur *Ethom*. [29.]

Carta *Cnut* Regis *Brihtymo* baroni suo de quinque hidis apud *Beningwurde*. [30.]

Carta *A.* Abbatis *Evesham* *R.* filio *Willielmi* de *Cotterun* de molendino de *Samburne* in excambium pro terr. in *Morton* et *Norton*. [31.]

Inquisitio quod ecclesia de *Hillingdon* vacans sit et in patronatu Abbatix de *Evesham* qui presentant *Walterum* de *Longedon* et estimatio ejusdem ecclesiæ xx. marcarum est et est antiqua et debita pensio unius marcæ. 1220. [31. b.]

Carta *Kenredi* Regis Merciorum (qui ivit *Romam* et cum illo cepit *Ecgrwinum* Wicciorum Episc.) *Ecgrwino* de quinque cassatis quæ *Mortun* appellatur ut ecclesia quæ *Cronuchomme* nuncupatur quam tunc moderno tempore contruxit possideat. 708. [32.]

Carta *Eadwardi* Regis Merciorum de v. manentibus in *at Lench* ad ecclesiam de *Cronuchomme*. [33.]

Carta *Eadwardi* Albionis Regis de v. cassatis in loco qui vulgari *Lench* dicitur meo fideli mihi oppido qui ab hujusce insulæ gnosticis noto *Osfred* nuncupatur onomate. [34.]

Carta *Kenredi* Regis Merciorum fideli amico et pontifici bisenos agros quam incolæ vocitant *at Ulenbeorge*. 709. [34. b.]

Carta Regis Mercensium *Athilbold* de terr. quæ dicitur *Aastune* trium manentium *Bucan* Comiti suo. 718. [35. b.]

Alfgarus Dux testificat quod *Ordwius* pater *Ailwi* Abbatis dedit ecclesiæ de *Evesham* *Astune*.

Carta *Willielmi* fil. *Rogeri* de *Watervilla* de terra de *Badebi* Abbati de *Evesham*. [36. b.]

Carta *Randulfi* de *Kinewarton* *Rogero* Abbati de *Evesham* de ecclesia de *Kinewarton* cum capella de *Alna* et cum capella de *Witheleia*.

Carta

^{*} Here is inserted: — *Pilla Alex.* [A receipt for making.]

Carta *Phillippi* Seneschalli ecclesiæ *Evesham* de amphorata cervisiæ quam percipiebat in bracino Abbatis in excambium pro molendino de *Salfordia*. [37.]

Carta *Randulfi de Lent* Ecclesiæ de *Evesham* de terra de *Bradelega* cum hominibus ejusdem terræ qui de eadem terra reddunt 1xs.

Carta *Benedicti* * * * fil. *Stephani London* de ecclesia *S. Michaelis* in *Cornhull* in *London* *Adæ* Abbati de *Evesham*. [37. b.]

Carta *Radulfi* fil. *Eadwini* de molendino de *Evesham* juxta pontem et de molendino de *Hamton* Abbati de *Evesham*. [42.]

Carta *Rogeri* Abbatis *Evesham* *Johanni Grene* et *Althiæ* uxori suæ de predictis.

Carta *Henrici de Taiden* et uxoris suæ *Agnetis* Abbatiæ de *Evesham* de terr. versus *Burthton*. [43.]

Carta *Willielmi de Pinkeni* ecclesiæ de *Evesham* de tota decima de dominio suo de *Sloſter*.

Carta *Walteri* fil. *Ricardi de Clifford* feci (sic) diruere et evellere domos edificatas juxta fosse prope villam *S. Edwardi* in *Swella*.

Conventio inter Abbatem *A.* et *Walterum* filium *Ricardi* de *Bradewell* super quoddam masuagium in *Bradewell*.

Conventio inter *A.* Abbatem *Evesham* et *Bardulfum* fil. *Rogeri* de *Cheftelton* de prato in *Tattlestrop* quod prefatus *Bardulfus* calumpniabatur in communem pasturam. [44.]

Carta *Hugonis* de *Gundevilla* omnibus hominibus Abbatis de *Evesham* de libera potestate et quietia eundi et emendi et vendendi in foro suo de *Campendena*.

Bulla Innocentii Papæ ut beneficiis cum vacuerint liceat ordinare. 8. Pontif. [46. b.]

Bulla Innocentii Papæ in confirmatione libertatum &c. 8. Pont. [47. b.]

Scriptum de pecunia Romæ recepta ad usus ecclesiæ de *Evesham*. [48. b.]

Conventio inter *Reginaldum* Abbatem de *Evesham* et *Sperlingum* Presbiterum de ecclesia *S. Michaelis* de *Cornhulla Lond*. [52.]

Finalis concordia inter *Rogero* Abbatem de *Evesham* et *Hervithurn Bagoth* et *Milicent* uxorem ejus de terr. de *Wrotill.* et *Livinton*. 1 Joh. Regis.

Inquisitio quod Abbas et homines sui de omnibus villis suis qui sunt in Com. *Wigorn.* semper fuerint quieti de *theoloneo* et omnibus consuetudinibus et de omnibus rebus quas vendebant et emebant apud *Wigorn*.*

Carta *Beorhtulfi* Regis Merciorum de decem manentibus terr. in *Willerſeie* ad locum qui dicitur æt *Egwinæ Homme*. [60.]

Confirmatio privilegiorum ab *Henrico* Rege.

Alia confirmatio *Henrici* Regis.

Carta *R.* Abbatis *Evesham* ad mandatum patris nostri *Hugonis Oſtienſis* episcopo *Runfredo* clerico episcopi de ann. redd. 8. marc. [61.]

Carta R. Abbatis *Evesham* *Mauritio* fil. *Rogeri de Persore* de decimis bladi vallæ *Evesham*.

Willielmus de Somerville feofavit *Walterum Golafre* de manerio de *Aston Somervill* et *Walterus* fecit fidelitatem et homagium *Willielmo de Bengeworth* Abbati de *Evesham*. 17. E. 2.

Willielmus de Somerville fecit homagium pro dicto manerio. 18. E. 2.

Carta *Henrici* Regis Abbatix de *Evesham* quod ipsi imperpetuum habeant catalla tam omnium hominum fuorum quam omnium tenentium fuorum integre tenentium et non integre tenentium residendum et non residendum et aliorum residendum quorumcunque tam de et in omnibus terris et tenementis quam de omnimodis feodis et possessionibus suis in Com. Wigorn. Gloc. et Warw. felonum et fugivitorum utlegatorum dampnatorum attinctorum convictorum ac in exigendis pro felonis positorum necnon mulierum taliter wainiatarum cujuslibet eorundem. Ita quod si quis hominum vel tenentium pro delicto suo vitam vel membrum debeat amittere vel fugerit et judicem stare noluerit vel aliud quodcunque delictum seu forisfactum fecerit pro quo bona et catalla sua debeat perdere ubicunque justitia de eo fieri debeat sive in curia nostra vel heredum seu successorum nostrorum sive in alia curia sint ipsa bona et catalla ipsorum Abbatis et Conventus. 23. H. 6.—Per breve de privato sigillo et de dat. predict. auctoritate Parliamenti. [65. b.]

Admissio *Johannis* fil. *Ricardi Predomme* ad terr. in *Seynebury*. [66.]

Carta *Eadwardi* totius Angliæ Basilei ecclesiæ de *Eovefham* de terr. quæ dicitur *Swelle*. 1055. Cum metis Saxonice. [66. b.]

Finalis concordia in curia Regis apud *Evesham* inter *Rogero* fil. *Willielmi* et *Wibertum Trunket* de terr. de *Ragl*.—H. 1. cum confirmatione Regis. [67. b.]

Finalis concordia inter Abbatem de *Evesham* et *Henricum de Ragl*. de terr. in *Ragl*. 2. R. 1.

Finalis concordia inter *Radulfum* Abbatem de *Evesham* petentem et *Stephanum de Raggl*. tenent. de terr. in *Raggl*. 5. H. 3. [68.]

Carta *Randulfi* Abbatis *Evesham* confirmans venditionem terræ in *Merflowa* quam *Ricardus de Herverton* Clericus fecit *Rogero de Persora*. (70.)

Obligatio *Rogeri de Persora* Abbati de *Evesham* de 2s. ann. redd. ex terr. in *Merflowa*.

Carta *Offæ* Regis Merciorum de quatuor manentibus in loco qui dicitur *Dunestreatun*. 778. [70. b.]

Bullæ variæ Papales annorum 709—713—1163—et duæ alteræ *Alexandri* et *Clementis*. [72.]

Cartæ duæ *Thomæ* Abbatis *Evesham* *Waltero de Bellocampo* de terr. in *Ambresleya*. (74.)

Bullæ Papales *Clementis Celestini* et *Innocentii* in confirmatione privilegiorum. (74. b.)

[Harl. MS. 3763.] Carta inter *Rogero* Abbatem *Evesham* et *Robertum Sprot* de inopis et gardinis in civitate *London*. 18. R. (55. b.)

Carta *Henrici* Regis ecclesiæ de *Evesham* de hundredo de *Blacahurst*. Item ut ad *Edwardeslow* sit porta et mercatio die Jovis et quod ecclesia de *Evesham* habet omnes consuetudines. (79. b.)

Carta *Henrici* Regis *Ricardo* Abbati et conventui de *Evesham* quod recipiant de omnibus terr.
et

et ten. et hominibus suis ubicunque sint omnes denarios quos Vicecomites nostri vel hundredarii percipere consueverint.

Willielmus Marefcallus Comes concessit Abbatiæ *Eveshamiæ* totum jus quod habuit in ratione communæ (sic) pasturæ in assartis prepresturis et clausis Abbatis usque ad 20 H. 3. (80. b.)

Concordiæ variæ fraternitatis inter Abbates *Evesham* et Abbates *Witebi* et *Eborac.* (82. b.)

Concordia inter *Adam* Abbatem *Evesham* et *Ricardum* militem de *Aldringtona* super jure advocacionis capellæ de *Weflona.* (83. b.)

Cartæ duæ de ann. redd. xv. marc. de ecclesia de *Ambreslega* ad ecclesiam de *Evesham.*

Confirmatio *Gileberti* ep. Herefordiæ de dono *Hugonis* fil. *Rogeri* et de dono *Pagani* de *Nuers* de insula quæ dicitur *Serpeth.* (84. b.)

Concordia inter Abbatem de *Evesham* et *Henricum* fil. *Phillippi* de terr. in *Suderton.* 3. R.

Carta de inveniendis cereum nocte et die jugiter ardentem ante majus altare ecclesiæ de *Evesham.* (85.)

Carta *Roberti* de *Harewecurth* ecclesiæ de *Evesham* de v. fol. in molendino de *Weston.*

Conventio inter Abbatem *Evesham* Reg. et *Robertum Dunekan* de terr. in *Hunitona.* (90.)

Conventio inter Abb. *Rob.* de *Evesham* et *Radulfum Pincernam* de terr. de *Withlakesford.*

Carta *Reginaldi* Abbatis *Evesham* *Radulfo Pincern.* de terr. in *Withlakesford* et *Grafton.* (90. b.)

Carta *Adæ* Abbatis *Evesham* *Roberto Pincern.* de iisdem.

Carta *Roberti Pincerne* de molendino de *Withlakesford* ecclesiæ de *Evesham.* (91.)

Compositio inter ecclesiam de *Hildendona* et *Rogerus* et *Philippum* heredem suum super decimis molendinorum in *Coleham* et *Wixebrugg.* (91. b.)

Bulla *Constantini* Primi. 709. (92.)

Bulla ejusdem. 713. De electione Abbatis.—Defuncto Abbate secundum canonicam auctoritatem vel de ipso monasterio vel de parochia *Wiccior.* Abbas a fratribus ejusdem loci eligatur qui in eadem ecclesia libere et canonice sine aliqua exactione consecratus ob reverentiam ven. *Egwini* annulo in celebratione missarum solummodo utatur primumque locum post *Wicciorum* prefulem nostra auctoritate jugiter obtineat. (92. b.)

Bullæ variæ aliorum Paparum. (fol. 93.—99. b.)

Bullæ quædam *Innocentii* quarti. — [One of these is concerning the *caps* before-mentioned in the chapter of *Customs.*]

Bullæ aliæ Paparum. (104. b.—112. b.)

Causæ principales cur *cantaria secularis* non fiat in monasterio *E.* (114.)

Confirmatio *Henrici* Regis de *Hundredo* de *Blakhurst* cum aliis libertatibus. 25. H. (116.)

Carta *Henrici* Regis.—Quare bosci Abbatis infra forestam de *Feckenham* sunt quieti de vasto &c. 26. H. (116. b.)

Carta *Henrici* Regis — quare Abbas recipiat denarios per ballivos suos de terris et tenementis et hominibus suis et respondeat ad scaccarium. 26. H. (117.)

Carta

- Carta *Henrici* Regis de eodem baronibus de scaccario. 26. H. (117. h.)
- Carta *Henrici* Regis de Warena et Parco de *Baddeby* et *Newenham*. 20. H. (118.)
- Carta *Henrici* Regis de Warena terrarum Abbatis in Com. Wigorn. et Glouc. 35. H.
- Carta *Edwardi* Regis confirmans manerium de *Bengeworth*. 3. E. (118. b.)
- Carta *Edwardi* R. de terr. *Johannis de White-church* in *Achelench* et *Bengeworth*. 9. E. (119.)
- Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. et burgagiis *Joh. de Tywe* in *Evesham*. 10. E.
- Licentia *Edw.* R. de manerio de *Seynesbury*. 31. E.
- Carta *Edw.* II. R. de terr. *Johannis de Whytechurche* in *Evesham*. 2. E. 2. (119. b.)
- Carta *Edw.* R. de manerio de *Ulleberwe*. 4. E.
- Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. *Jch. de Whytechurch* in *Donynton Hudycote* et *Borton*. 4. E. (120.)
- Licentia *Edw.* R. de feodo de *Aston Somervyle*. 5. E.
- Carta *Edwardi* R. de terr. in *Newenham*. 6. E.
- Licentiæ duæ *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Luttelton*. 7. & 8. E. (120. b.)
- Confirmatio *Edw.* R. de *Seynesbury*. 9. E. (121.)
- Carta *Edw.* R. pro transgressione *Malculmi Musard* in *Seynesbury*. 28. E. (121. b.)
- Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Baddefeye Bretforton* et *Luttelton*. 9. E.
- Carta *Edw.* R. pro ambulatione forestæ. 10. E. (122.)
- Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Evesham Lenchetwyk* et *Twyford*. 10. E.
- Carta *Edw.* R. de appropriatione ecclesiæ de *Baddeby*. 14. E. (122. b.)
- Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Hogwyke Penewortham* et *Farynton*. 16. E.
- Licentia *Edw.* R. de cantaria de *Borton*. 16. E.
- Carta *Edw.* R. de appropriatione eccl: de *Ombresfeye*. 19. E. (123.)
- Confirmatio *Edw.* R. de cantaria de *Hauleye*. 19. E. 2.
- Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Evesham*, *Baddeby*, *North Luttelton* et *Bretforton*. 20. E. (123. b.)
- Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Hampton*. 12. E. 1. (124.)
- Licentia *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Kynewarton*. 1. E. 3.
- Confirmatio *Edw.* R. de *Wytheleye* et *Kyngeleye*. 3. E. (124. b.)
- Licentia *Edw.* R. adquirendi xx . terr. et redd. 3. E.
- Confirmatio *Edw.* R. omnium libertatum. 4. E. (125.)
- Carta *Edw.* R. de appropriatione eccl. de *Leylond*. 4. E. (126. b.)
- Confirmatio *Edw.* R. appropriationi eccl. de *Baddeby*. 4. E. (127.)
- Carta *Edw.* R. indemnitis. 4. E.
- Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Darlynescote*. 4. E. (127. b.)
- Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. et ten. capellæ B. M. de *Borton*. 5. E.

Carta *Edw.* R. de custodia maneriorum *Tatlynton Baddefeye Kynewarton Whiteleye et Kyngeley* habenda tempore vacationis. 6. E. (128.)

Licentia *Edw.* R. pro porta Abbatie *kervelanda*. (sic.) 6. E. (128. b.)

Licentia *Edw.* R. pro excommunicatis capiendis. 6. E.

Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Bretforton*. 8. E.

Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Baddefeye*. 8. E. (129.)

Licentia *Edw.* R. pro Abbatia firmanda et *kernellanda*. 10. E. (129. b.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Faryngton et Leylond*. 10. E.

Carta *Edw.* R. de *Kyngeswynford*. 11. E. (130.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Tatlescroft*. 12. E.

Revocatio *Edw.* R. presentationis ecclesie de *Ambresley*. 1. E. (130. b.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de vasto de *Penwortham*. 8. E.

Carta *Edw.* R. de maneriis de *Tidelinton et Adminscote &c.* 40. E. (131.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de messuagiis et redditibus in *London*. 40. E.

Carta *Edw.* R. de putura (sic) de *Penwortham*. 18. E. 3. (131. b.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Leylond et Longeton*. 10. E. (132. b.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Hogwyk et Penwortham et Farintone*. 16. E. 3.

Carta *Edw.* R. Priori et Conventui quod habeant custodiam Abbatie tempore vacationis. 9. E. (133.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de manerio de *Tadlington et Newbold*.* 16. E. (134.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Newbold*. 9. E.

Cartæ duæ *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Ambresley, Evesham, Bengeworth, South Luttelton, Bradewell, Donyngton, Seynebury, Stowe S. Edwardi, Mulgarsbury et parva Hampton et de manerio de Over-Sydington*. 25. E. 3. (134. b.)

Confirmatio *Edw.* R. super appropriationem ecclesie de *Baddeby*. 27. E. 3. (136. b.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de feria et mercatu in *Ambresley*. 28. E. 3. (137. b.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Evesham, Bengeworth, Ambresley et Norton*. 32. E. 3. (138.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de terr. in *Hudicotebertram et Seynebury, Bradewell, Stowe, et Malgarsbury*. 37. E. (139.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de commutatione de *Raggeley et Kyngeley*. 43. E. 3. (140.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de manerio de *Eyford et de Stowe Malgarsbury Borton et Wikeryfyndon*. 49. E. 3. (140. b.)

Carta *Edw.* R. de parco de *Ambresley*. 50. E. 3. (141. b.)

Generalis

* Here is inserted in the MS.—Mem.—quod *Adam Hernynton* clericus obiit ultimo die mensis martii. 1344.

Generalis remissio Regis *Edw.* facta communitati Angliæ in parlamento Westmonast. 51. E. 3. (142)

Confirmatio *Ricardi* Regis quod prior et Conventus habeant custodiam Abbatiae tempore vacationis. 3. R. (143.)

Confirmatio *Ricardi* Regis possessionum &c. 16. R. (145.)

Concessio IX. fol. de ecclesia de *Ombresleye*. (152. b.)

Donatio de terra de *Dyninton* ad infirmos.

Assignatio capellæ de *Luttleton* ad hostilare. (153.)

Confirmatio capellæ de *Bretforton*.

Ordinatio misericordiæ.

Donatio obventionum et oblationum ad crucem. (153. b.)

De Sacerdote celebrante pro negligentis conventus et anniversario *Henrici* Abbatis. 1263. (154.)

Confirmatio iiii. £. de ecclesia de *Honeyborn*. (154. b.)

Confirmatio redditus pro cereo *Sci Wyllani*. 1262.

Confirmatio redditus obventionum et oblationum ecclesiæ *Eveshamiæ*. (155.)

De terra de *Bereford* assignata Elemosinario.

De anniversariis *Willielmi de Whytechurch* Abbatis. (155. b.)

De eodem (sic) anniversariis.

De redditu de *Seynesbury* dato ad vestitum monachorum. 1307. (156. b.)

De incremento redditus ad officium coquinæ per *Johannem* Abbatem. 8. E. 2.

De anniversariis Dni. *Johannis* Abbatis. (157.)

De anniversariis *Walteri Waltore* Prioris. (157. b.)

De donatione terræ de *Baddefeye*.

De capellano et anniversariis Dni *Nicholai de Baddefeye*. 1331. (158.)

De anniversariis *Willielmi de Chiryngton* Abbatis. 1332.

Assignatio ecclesiæ de *Ombresleye*. 1344. (158. b.)

Assignatio ecclesiæ de *Baddeby*. 1344. (159.)

Concessio ecclesiæ de *Leylond* et panis ad cenam conventus. 1347.

De Sacerdote celebrante pro fratribus defunctis et aliis benefactoribus. 1350.* (159. b.)

De Sacerdotibus celebrantibus in capella ad *carvarium*. 1360. (160.)

De novo redditu pro incremento cum incremento dierum. 1361. (161.)

De pensione Archidiaconi *Northampton*. 1320. (162.)

De pensione episcopi *Lincoln*. 1321.

De

* In this year many of the Evesham monks died of the plague.

De pensione capituli *Wigorn.* 1326. [162. b.]

De pensione episcopi *Cestrie.*

Taxatio ecclesiarum proventuum reddituum et obventionum temporalium et spiritualium Abbatiae *Eveshamie* secundum verum valorem facta ad mandatum reverendorum patrum *Dnorp*, (sic) *Wynton*, et *Lincoln* eporp (sic) executorum deputatorum negotii decimæ Dno Regi *Edwardo* illustri filio *Henrici* Regis concessæ in subsidium terræ sanctæ per magistros *Ricardum Ujenna* et *Walterum* fil. *Warr.* clericos cum portionibus percept. et detent. decimis tam in parochiis propriis quam aliens. [163.]

Taxatio tricesimæ Abbatis et monachorum *Eveshamie* bonorum fuorum mobilium de temporalibus concessa Dno *E.* Regi illustri pro militatione *E.* filii sui. 1306. [166. b.]

Carta *Johannis* Abbatis *Eveshamie* officiatis dicti monasterii de hospitibus tenementis shopis cellaria (sic) et folaria (sic) in *London* in Wardis de *Algate* et *la tour.* 1379. [196. b.]

Processus varii circa ecclesiam de *Penwortham* tempore *Rogeri* episc. *Covent.* et *Lich.* 1320. (197.)

Processus varii de mortuariis ad ecclesiam de *Evesham* pertinentibus. (200.)

Scriptum Abbatis et conventus *Eveshamie* *Henrico* episcopo *Lincoln* de annua pensione v. marcarum. 1321. (206.)

Scriptum Abbatis et conventus *Eveshamie* de pensione x. fol. archidiaconi *Northamptonie.* 1320. (206. b.)

Confirmatio cantariæ in ecclesiæ de *Borton.* 1324:

Scriptum Abbatis *Eveshamie* de pensione xl. fol. *Rogero* *Covent.* et *Lich.* episcopo et successoribus suis. 1331. (207. b.)

Portio vicariæ de *Leylond.* 1331.

Pensio Prioris et capituli *Wigorn.* 1326. (208.)

Conventio super communes pasturas inter *Willersfeyam* et *Bradeweyam* et liberos homines de *Bradeweya* temporibus *Randulphi* Ab. *Eveshamie* et *Gervasii* Abbatis de *Perfore.* (208. b.)

Compositio inter Abbatem de *Evesham* et Abbatem de *Hales* de molendino de *Eweline.* (209.)

Conventio inter Abbatem de *Evesham* et Abbatem de *Perfore* de stagno quod se extendit juxta aquam de *Sthoure* ab exclusis molendini de *Tatlynton.*

Ordinatio reddituum pro capellanis celebrandis in cimiterio. (210.)

Protestatio officialis *Cantuarenfis.* (211.)

Other papers relating to this Abbey which, either on account of their length or their subject, it seemed improper to insert in the body of the work. Such of these as will admit of a translation are given in *English*. They were all procured from the British Museum, and are now first published.

[Harl. MS. 3763. in Mus. Brit. fol. 195.]

THE newly elected *Abbot*, if he were consecrated out of the Monastery, shall, when he returns, be received by us in a festive procession. After his instalment by the prior, he is every where to be honoured with particular reverence. We must be reverently obedient to him in all things lawful: and as he passes along, either through the cloister, through any of the offices, or any where except in the dormitory, all shall stand up and bow to him while passing. When it be necessary, a chaplain shall carry a lighted lanthorn before him, in all places except the dormitory. No one shall walk a-breast with him, except to mass. Wherever he shall sit, no one shall presume to sit down by him, unless he command him so to do. If bidden to sit down by him, that person shall bow to him in a devout manner, and thus humbly take his seat. And it is to be observed, that the stall of the Abbot, or the seat where he is about to sit down, shall always be adorned with a *quarellum*, whether he be in pontificals or not. Whoever shall give any thing into his hand, or receive any thing from him, shall kiss his hand. Wherever he shall be present, there should be observed the strictest order and discipline. When he shall reprehend any monk who has behaved or spoken amiss, whether it be within the cloister or not, that monk shall afterwards intreat his pardon in a humble manner, as if in the chapter-house, and shall stand before him till ordered to sit down: and as long as he sees him to be angry, so long shall he entreat for pardon, till his wrath be appeased. The Abbot should however take care that nothing of this sort shall pass in the presence of secular persons. In the first chapter over which an Abbot shall preside all the obedientiaries of the Monastery, and all those who have any office there, shall lay the keys of their respective offices at his feet. He then shall restore to them their charges, if it be not otherwise decreed in chapter. Thus the whole regulation of the Monastery will appear to depend on him.—If in his absence, either through necessity or expediency, any new regulation shall have been made, it shall, when he returns, be submitted to his judgment, and its execution to his prudence.—The Abbot ought therefore to be cautious in his government, humble, chaste, and merciful, sober, and one who may serve as an example of the divine precepts both in words and actions. As often as possible he should be with the rest of the fraternity in the Convent, using the most vigilant care and diligent solicitude concerning all things, that he may be able to render up to God a worthy account* of his office.

Memorandum:

* Here there is a great peculiarity in the language of this paper. *Roma*, the place where the accounts were given in, seems to be used for the account itself. *Ut de officio sibi commisso dignam Deo possit reddere Romam.*

[Ex eodem. fol. 191.]

MEMORANDUM:*—Quod A. D. 1392, Anno Regis *Ricardi* Secundi XV. obiit piæ memoriæ venerabilis Prior *Nicholaus Herford*, qui Prioratum ecclesiæ *Eveshamiæ* devote et religioſe vivendo per XL. annos et iiij. ebdomadas ſub ejus Abbatibus rexit; et obtinuit, et poſt ejus obitum multa beneficia et eccleſiæ ornamenta dicto Monasterio, ad ejus animæ ſalutem et in poſterum exemplum, reliquit. —Viz. Unum parum veſtimentorum pro majori altari *embrowdatum* cum aquilis de auro de Cipre, et *le chaumpe de blew velvetto*, cum capa, dalmaticis, et xxx. albis cum paruris de eiſdem aquilis. Et aliud parum veſtimentorum de viridi velvetto embrowdatum cum capitibus cervinis, cum capa, dalmaticis, et cum iiij. albis de eodem. Et aliud veſtimentum tantum pro ſacerdote de panno auri de Luc.—viz. Caſula alba cum paruris, ſtola, manipulo, et frontello; quod Dnus Abbas ex ejus bonitate, in memoriam animæ ejus, dedit capellæ B. Mariæ in criptis. Cum uno calice operis *Saracenorum*; cum duabus violis argenteis deauratis et ſculptis. Et aliud veſtimentum tantum pro ſacerdote de panno Cypreo quod Dnus Abbas contulit *Johanni Golafre*. Et aliud veſtimentum Dno *Thomæ Hambury* eodem modo: et unum calicem, maximum totius monaſterii, pondere x. lb. cum duabus *Bacyns* argenti pro majori altari. Et ſex alios calices, tam bonos quam mediocres, in quibus nomen ejus eſt ſculptum, expenſis propriis fieri fecit.

Nunc de ejus libris tractandum eſt. Quoſdam emit, et quoſdam, mediantibus ſcriptoribus, componi fecit. De libris emptis primo incipiendum eſt.

Summa predicantium, qui valet ix. marc.

Burley ſuper politicis, pretii vij. marc.

Burley ſuper phyſices, pretii iiij. marc. et dim.

Cowton, pretii vij. marc.

Miſſale dim. anni, pretii xx. marc.

Et ſequentes libros componi fecit in parte:

Preſcianus in conſtructionibus.

Memoriale junior cum prato florum, in eodem volumine ligati.

Petogogicum (ſic) grammaticæ ſuper quatuor partes grammaticæ.

Nominaſ, cum diſſinitione artium.

Quaterni grammaticales, quorum primus vocatur:—*Quæ meliora cum exoticon*.

2. *Notabilia Catholicon*. (ſic)

3. *Nominaſ* qui ſic incipit: *Hely, Heloy*; cum quatuor partibus grammaticæ.

4. Qui ſic incipit,—*Sicut* et tertius.

5. *Bibliſworthe*, cum aliis tractibus grammaticæ.

A a 2

6. *Merarius*,

* I cannot help recommending this to the reader as a very great curioſity, and wiſh much it were in my power to render it into Engliſh, that it might be more generally read. But this as will eaſily be ſeen, it is nearly, if not quite impoſſible, to perform.

6. *Merarius*, cum *Ympnario* glossato.
7. *Guydo* de vero dictamine.
- Biblia.
- Sinistra pars oculi.
- Speculum Curatorum.
- Tabula super *Augustinum* de civitate Dei.
- Manipulus florum.
- Distinctiones.
- Boetius* de consolatione Philosophiæ.
- Dockyn*.
- Flores *Bernardi*.
- Wallensis*.
- Summa conscientiæ.
- Cofteley* super Apocalipsin.
- Stimulus amoris, cum aliis tractatibus in eodem volumine.
- Vitæ Scæ *Eufrafiæ*, cum aliis tractatibus.
- Egidius* de regimine Principum.
- Quaternus de prima injungenda.
- Quaternus summæ *Crisostomi*, cum aliis tractatibus in eodem volumine.
- Quaternus *Hugonis de Sco Victore*, cum aliis tractatibus in eodem volumine.
- Quaternus de doctrina *dicendi* et *tacendi*.
- Quaternus de articulis fidei, cum aliis tractatibus.
- Quaternus de Diabolicis fantasticis.
- Quaternus legum, cum diversis tractatibus.
- De origine Religionis secundum *Ricardum* Heremitam de *Hamipole*.
- Quaternus de Musica, et artis metricæ.
- Quaternus de Statutis Angliæ, cum multis aliis tractatibus.
- Holkote* super sapientiam.
- Purgatorium *Patricii* Sancti.
- Descriptio orbis, cum cronicis abbreviatis.
- Primum Psalterium.
- Primus liber de matutinis de Dna, cum vij. psalmis primalibus.
- Liber *Job Junioris*.
- Bernardus Cassinensis* super r——.
- Smaragdus* super r——.
- Quaternus de constitutionibus *Benedicti*.
- Quaternus qui dicitur *Philosophia Monachorum*, cum diversis tractatibus de ordine.
- Quaternus super *Regulam*. In papire non ligatus.
- Quaternus niger qui dicitur *Formula Novicorum*.
- Speculum Stultorum.
- Psalterium *Jeronimi*.
- Parvus liber de septem artibus liberalibus.

Quaternus major de septem artibus liberalibus.
 Quaternus de arte nototatoria, (sic) cum aliis tractatibus.
 Dissuasio *Valerii* ad *Rufinum* de uxore non ducenda.
 Quaternus de peregrinatione terræ sanctæ.
 Bellum Trojanum, cum vita *Alexandri* in quaterno.
 Quaternus de Fifica.
 Quaternus *Odorici*, cum aliis tractatibus.
 Policronica, cum aliis tractatibus.
 Bullum Trojanum ligat.
 Alius quaternus de bello Trojano.
 Cronice fratris *Man.* Primacii Dni Papæ.
 Cronice abbreviate. In papiro.
 Quaternus de confessione.
 Quaternus primariæ institutionis Monachorum.
 Quaternus de inquisitionibus faciendis in visitationibus.
 Liber Agriculturæ.
 Formula vitæ honestæ.
Secretum secretorum.
 Mort de *Arthor*, cum *Sankreal* in eodem volumine.
 Quaternus Gallicus de diversis materiis.
 Ymago de Mounde.
 Benfiis (sic) de *Hampton*.
Amy et *Amylon*.
 Liber parvum (sic) narrationum.
Albumasar.
Joh. de Sacrobosco.
 Quaternus de compositione Astrolabii, et ejus speciebus.
 Quaternus de divisione temporum.
 Quaternus de Compotis.
 Quaternus de mirabilibus mundi et astronomiæ.
 Tabula *Martiniani*.
Johannes Androw.
 Constitutiones Papæ *Clementis*.
 Concordia Discordantium.
 Decretales ij.
 Summa super titulis Decretalium.
Johannes Androw super 6. et 7. librum Decretalium.
 Instituta Decretalium et Decretorum.
Bromezart.
 Parvus liber de orationibus.
 Pretium istorum librorum cum quaternis discernat pii discretio regentis.
 Pretium vestimentorum de blew velvetto *Lx. s.*

Pretium vestimentorum de viridi velveto, xx. ℥.

Pretium vestimentorum de auro de Luc. vj. marc.

Pretium vestimenti cum rosis, xx. s.

Pondus magni Calicis, x. ℥.

Pondus Calicis de opere Saracenorum, lxvij. s.

Pretium librorum cum precibus scripturæ, xlvij. marc. et dimid.

Pretium pro factura unius mappæ mundi, vj. marc.

Cujus animæ propitiatur Deus. Anima ejus et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum, per Dei misericordiam, in pace requiescant. Amen. Amen. Amen.

[P. 195.] NEXT to the Abbot, the greatest reverence and obedience is due in all cases to the prior, who in the *Rule* is denominated *Prepositus honorabiliorum domus Dei*. He, after the Abbot himself, can exercise the highest power both in words and action, that, by the example of his life and the persuasion of his doctrine, he may instruct his brethren in what is good, and reclaim them from evil. To him alone is the priest subservient who performs divine service. All matters likewise that are going on out of the Convent-limits are, if the Abbot should be absent, under his controul. As often as occasion requires he holds, or orders to be held, a chapter on all the servants that belong to the different offices of the Monastery; and by his command due punishment is inflicted on delinquents. As he passes through the cloister or through the choir, it is not customary, when he is about to sit down, for *all* the brethren to rise to him; but only those who are near the place where he is about to sit. Wheresoever, *out* of the cloister, he shall find any of the monks seated, they shall all rise to him. The prior of the cloister, or the guardian of order, shall every where attend the first prior. As far as possible he ought continually to be in or about the cloister, and to preserve there good order with all sollicitude. It is the office of the first prior, while he is in the Monastery, to punish or pardon any offences there committed. In case however of his absence, this office devolves to the prior of the cloister; except in those causes of moment which must be reserved to the arbitrement of the first prior, or of the Abbot himself. These officials, as well as the deans, should be chosen from among the best and most prudent members of the Convent; as such persons will be least likely ever to raise a clamour through private enmity to any one, or to pass over any neglects through private friendship. Above all others, they should study every where to conduct themselves religiously and orderly, and thus serve as examples to the rest of the Convent. They must be attended to reverently in the chapter-house; and after such have been heard who come thither to plead excuses or ask pardon for any offence, it is the office of these principally to lodge complaints against offenders.

[P. 195. b.] MEMORANDUM:—That prior *Avicius*, because he had made over the two villages of *Baddeby* and *Newenham*, which were part of his own inheritance, to this church, repeated the same form of gift after the *bleſſed Wlfus*, at the requeſt of his relations, had *unjuſtly* taken poſſeſſion of the above-mentioned places. They were both of the ſame parentage.* —It was by the advice of the ſame prior *Avicius* that earl *Leofric* and the counteſs *Godgiwa* built here an handſome church in honour of the Holy Trinity; in which they procured a croſs of large ſize to be erected, and images of St. Mary the mother of God, and of St. John the Evangeliſt, to be magnificently made of gold and ſilver; and alſo gave a green chieſable, a leſſer black cope, and many other coſtly ornaments. *Alfricus*, who was prior under Abbot *Agekwy*, built the *dorcelli* of the chapter-houſe.

[P. 196.] MEMORANDUM:—That to the celebration of the anniverſary of *Walter de Walcote*, prior, are aſſigned all thoſe rents which he acquired in the town of *Eveſham* and at *Penwortham*; but with this proviſo, —that the *almoner* for the time being ſhall find annually to the Convent a ſufficient pittance of ſalmon, or ſome other fiſh of the beſt kind that can be procured, together with an allowance of the beſt wine; the reſidue of which ſhall, at the diſcretion of the almoner, be faithfully diſtributed among certain poor perſons. —The above prior acquired alſo one cope of green ſilk, embroidered with golden apoſtles ſtanding in tabernacles. Alſo an alb, with work repreſenting the hiſtory of St. Katherine; and another alb, with figures of the God-head fitting, and the apoſtles ſtanding round. —This prior moreover aſſigned thoſe rents to the office of the ſacriſty which we find written down in the martirology, and theſe were to furniſh one wax-light; which, together with that furniſhed by the ſacriſt, was daily to burn during all the private maſſes celebrated throughout the whole year.

[P. 201.] MEMORANDUM:—Quod, ex approbata conſuetudine vallis *Eveſhamiæ*, remanebunt pro inventario poſt mortem vicariorum defunctorum ad futurum ſucceſſorem:—1. *Caruca* cum toto apparatu.—2. *Cartca* (sic) cum toto apparatu.—3. Unum *Furneys* fixum.—4. Una magna *Cuna*.—5. Unus *Alvus*.—6. Una *Archa*.—7. Una *Vanga*, cum una tribula.—8. Una *Scala*.—9. Unum *Linteamen* ad ventum.—10. Una *Olla* enea.—11. Una *Pelvis*, cum lavatorio.—12. Una *Menſa*, cum treſſel.—13. Una *Mappa*, cum inanutergio.—14. Unum *Rafum* de ligno.—15. Una *Falx*.

[Ibidem.]

* This memorandum it was impoſſible to make out without much gratuitous conjecture. This paſſage in the original runs thus: *De una 11. erant perentela.*

[Ibidem.] MEMORANDUM :*—That the sacrist shall furnish three wax-lights continually burning before the great altar. One before the altar of the blessed Mary in the crypts. Eight to burn only when processions are made to the mass celebrated at the above altar. And as many at all private masses that are said throughout the year, in the church. He must also find two wax-lights to be lighted up every day ; one of which is according to ancient usage, the other to the late regulation of *Walter de Walcote*. He must moreover furnish one lamp to burn before the altar of St. Peter by night only. Another before the altar of the blessed Stephen. A third before the altar of the Holy Trinity. A fourth before the altar of St. John. A fifth before the pulpit. One also in the chapel of the blessed Mary Magdalene, to burn only by night. A lamp moreover is to be furnished for the tomb of St. Wlstan, to burn both day and night. In the chapel of St. Lawrence two wax-lights of four pound weight are to be found by the sacrist, which are to burn only during mass.

[P. 203.] MEM:—Quod Infirmarius debet percipere per manum *Sacristæ* annuatim, pro omnibus in quibus ei tenetur, et pro una dim. marca quam Infirmarius solebat recipere de manu Burfarii, vj. ℥. iij. s. viij. d. ad quatuor anni terminos. Et hoc determinatum fuit in pleno capitulo in presentia Dni *W. de Wychechyrche* Abbatis *Eveshamiæ* A. D. 1370, die O Sapientia. — *Subsacristæ* est omnia ornamenta monasterii, et omnia instrumenta et suppellectiles quæ ad ipsum monasterium pertinent custodire, horas providere, cereos pro tempore accendere. In xij. scilicet Evangelistarum m. revestiare, portare quem Sacerdos ferat, cum incepto † per singulos dies processerit ad altare. Sacerdoti ab altari ad anologium reverso, absconsam cum candela ministrante finita quæ collecta eandem absconsam recipere, et librum Evangelistarum reponere. Candelas etiam per officinas distribuet secundum quod opus fuerit, et Abbas vel Prior preceperit. Ejus sollicitudinis est ampullas vinarias et aquarias qualibet septimana, et calices, cum opus fuerit lavare, corporalia quorum ante Pascha semper, et quotiens reliquis anni partibus. Expedit utrumque lavare si Diaconus aut Presbiter sit, si vero non sit, Abbati vel Priori judicare, et ipsius licentia alicui qui hujus ordinis sit hanc curam commendare. Lavandis corporalibus quanta possit diligentia adhibeatur.‡ Vasa enea, ad nullos alios usus destinata, ad hoc opus habeantur. Aqua qua lavantur, sicut et calicum m. sacrum (sic) projiciatur locis dum fictantur, ne aliquæ sordes adhæreant omnibus modis provideatur.

* This memorandum is admitted merely because it particularises the places assigned to those lamps, &c. which were mentioned only in a general way in a former paper concerning the sacrist's office.

† This, as well as the following one, is a very intricate and difficult sentence ; and there seems to have been some mistake made in transcribing from the MS. — Should not *incepto* here have been rather *incenso*?

‡ There is somewhere in Stevens, but I do not recollect the exact place, a passage nearly to the same purpose with these minutæ concerning the preparation of the *Hofl*. It may have been extracted from the same MS. but, as these customs were nearly alike in every convent, it is more probable that it was copied from some other.

deatur. Cura faciendi hostias super eum est, quia ut mundissime et honestissime fiant suo in opere studere debet. Imprimis, si fieri potest, frumentum cum magno studio granatim eligatur. Electum in sacculo mundo, et de bono panno facto, et ad opus tantum parato, ponatur, et a famulo boni studii ad molendinum deferatur. Quo delato, famulus aliud frumentum in ipso molendino moli prius faciat, ut illud unde hostiæ fieri debent sine aliqua forde moli postea valeat. Reportata farina, Sacrista vas et locum quo farina buletari debet in circuitu cortinam paret, et ut honesta persona hoc opus agat ipsemet provideat. Unus ministrorum super tabulam mundissimam ipsam farinam aqua conspargat, et manibus fortiter compingat, et maceret. Servus qui ferra in quibus coquantur tenet, manus rochetis habeat inviolatas. Interim, dum ipsæ hostiæ fiunt et coquantur, silentium loquendi omnino teneant. Ille tamen qui ferra tenet, si necesse sit, breviter quod vult indicare prout famulo qui focum facit et ligna portat; quæ debet esse valde sicca et ante multos dies de industria preparata.

[P. 203. b.] MEM.—That master *William de Stowe*, sacrist of *Evesham*, acquired four copes, —one of cloth of gold very fine and costly, —another of red velvet with pearls also very costly: —a third of red satin of the best kind, and a fourth likewise of red satin with flowers of gold. He also procured three albs, —one of red satin with a representation of the Deity in gold work, of which the body and sleeves were of the same piece; —another with the head of the Deity in gold work, with the heads of the apostles also in gold; —and a third of silk with white griffins of silk likewise. He acquired moreover twenty albs for holidays. Also a tunick with a dalmatica of gold fringe. At different times he gave for the uses of the Convent one hundred marks, —viz: forty marks for the repairs of the tower; —forty more toward the reparation of the northern wing [*transept*, I presume,] of the great church; —and twenty for the repairs of the bell-tower. He also gave the Abbot forty pounds when he purchased the manor of *Seynesbury*, and forty marks toward the purchase of *Osbarwe*.

[Ibidem.] MEM.—That brother *John de Brymmesgrave*, sacrist, acquired one good alb, and another of a middling sort, of black velvet with boughs and leaves worked on it. He also procured * * * * albs for festivals. He caused to be made an excellent chalice which is in the chapel of the blessed Mary, and of the value of thirteen marks. He bought moreover a vase of crystal. * * * * the *aymlets* [or small ornamented cases] in which are placed the thorns of the crown of Christ. He demised many books to this Convent the names of which now follow:

1. Summa Summarum.
2. Summa Confessorum.

B b

3. Summa

3. Summa Curatorum.
 4. Decretales Bybliam. (sic)
 5. Catholicon.
 6. The Legends of the Saints.
 7. Ysidorus concerning the chief good.
 8. The Exposition of the Evangelists.
 9. The Eye of the Priesthood.
 10. The Light of the Laity.
 11. A Book of Narratives.
 12. A Breviary in two volumes.
 13. A Diurnal of Prayers.
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[P. 204.] THE *hostilarius*, or official deputed to receive and accommodate strangers, ought always to have the following articles ready in the cell provided for that purpose:—beds, seats, tables, towels, napkins, cups, and all other necessaries of the same kind. In the reception of guests all manner of courtesy ought, according to the rule, to be observed. If any bishop or abbot, or prior of another house shall arrive, the sacrist for the time being shall furnish two wax-lights to burn before them till they go to bed. But the cellarer is to find them fire, &c. The *hostilarius* should however furnish them with charcoal and candles, as well as with corn for any number of horses not exceeding what is specified in the customs, viz:—for those of any number of persons not exceeding six from one and the same house or convent; so that every two horses shall have one strike of corn. But when the guests are many and from different houses, and no one party of them exceeds the aforesaid number, the *hostilarius* shall find every thing necessary for them.

[P. 204. b.] PRIOR Conventualis et Abbas duplum percipient de Celario et de Coquina quum venerint. De pane percipient duos panes monachales. De cervisia duas lagenas ad prandium, et duas ad cenam. Pro *armigero* ejus unum panem album ad prandium, et alium servientur ad cenam, et unam justam cervisiæ, et dimid. ferculum. De coquina Abbatis *Garciones* ad prandium quilibet suum panem, et dimidium ferculum. De coquina Abbatis ad cenam duo unum panem, et duo unam justam, et dim. ferculum. Et solus si fuerit, unum panem et unam justam. Et si tres, duos panes, et justam et dimidiam, et quilibet dimid. ferculum de coquina Abbatis. Monachi et Canonici qui *voverint* ante evangelium majoris missæ, per dies carniurn, unus erit *de apello*, et alter de coquina communi. Quotquot fuerint unde de coquina communi habebunt octo ova in die illi qui non sunt *de appello*, sive venerint ad cenam, vel ad prandium. Per dies vero piscium, habebunt sicut conventus, viz. unum panem monachilem, et duas justas cervisiæ. Si ad cenam venerint,

venerint, unum parvum panem, et unam justam ad cenam, et alteram pro colatione, et etiam cenam *de apello*.

Fratres vero predicatorum et minores ad prandium quilibet unum panem monachilem, et unam justam, et octo ova, per dies carniarum, si venerint ad prandium. Si ad cenam, quilibet iiij. ova. Set per dies piscium in omnibus sicut conventus deservitur, preterquam in Quadragesima; qui tunc habebunt iiij. alletia ad prandium de Pitantiario. Et per dominicas ad cenam iiij. alletia de coquina communi. Venientes autem ad cenam, duo habebunt unum panem monachilem, et unam justam; et similiter quicumque remanserint tota nocte semper duo fratres habebunt unam justam pro collatione. Et singuli alii religiosi unam justam. Licet cum Abbate comederint Augustini et Carneli de pane et cervisia percipient sicut alii fratres, et de coquina quilibet percipiet iiij. ova, iiij. alletia, et sicut conventus servitur de pisce de coquina omnes Religiosi servientur. In dominicis diebus, omnes Religiosi percipient *Wafres*, sicut conventus.

[P. 205.] MEM.—That in the year of grace 1314—viz. on the day of the Saints Fabian and Sebastian, it was determined and granted in full chapter at *Evesham*,—that the *hostilarius* for the time being shall be bound to furnish for those brethren that spend their nights out of the Convent, both at their departure and return, hay and an allowance of corn; whether their horses be within the gate of the Convent or without the said gate,—viz. half a strike of oats or bread to the value of one penny, excepting only the chamberlain, sacrist, and manciple, who are to be supplied from the profits of *Berton*.

Mem.—That the *hostilarius* for the time being shall be bound to find for the prior of *Penwortham*, both on his departure from the Abbey to that place, and on his return to the Abbey from *Penwortham*, hay and an allowance of corn for his horse, and also for the horse that may carry his bed, if he should travel with a bed, for the horse of his companion, if he shall have one with him, and for the horse of his chief attendant, [*armigeri*] if he shall have any such. But if he should travel with many horses and attendants, in that case the *hostilarius* shall not be obliged to find provender for more than the horse of one attendant, and for the horses above-mentioned. For these he must furnish an allowance of corn and hay, for two nights, on their journey to *Penwortham*. On their return from that place, he must supply for the forementioned horses, if he should travel with so many, provender for three nights, in case it should be required. In like manner, if his companion should arrive alone or with a single attendant, the *hostilarius* must, in that case, furnish provender for three nights on his arrival, and for two at his departure. Nor is it required that this official should furnish either more hay, more corn, or more beds, unless he do it out of any particular kindness or favour. Neither ought the *hostilarius* to find provender for the prior's horses which bring the falcons; nor hay, nor beds for his attendants, unless through particular favour.

It is another part of the *hostiliarius's* duty to conduct strangers or religious persons, who have never been here before, and who come with an intent of adoration and prayer, through the cloister into the Monastery. If they wish to see the offices, he is to lead them thither, provided the convent be not at that time assembled in the cloister. He must not introduce any one with boots and spurs on, nor any one bare-footed, into the cloister, on any account whatever.—It is moreover his office to conduct those secular persons who wish to fraternize with the brethren into the chapter-house. He must also take the charge of conducting novices who are just entered the society into the chapter-house, and teach them how to make the usual petition. He must take care likewise to inspect the conduct of those brethren who have leave to go out of the Monastery on any business, or are returning thither; observing whether or not they have proper attendants with them; — a proper saddle, such as the rule requires; — how they behave themselves in the court; — that if he notices any thing disorderly, he may lodge a complaint against such offenders in the chapter-house.

[Ibidem.] IT is the *almoner's* office either to enquire himself, or procure proper persons to enquire for him, and that with the utmost care and solicitude, where any sick or infirm persons reside who have not a sufficient support. If he should himself undertake this office, he must take two servants with him, and, before he shall enter any house, he shall cause the women, if there are any in it, to leave that house. Having entered the house, he must kindly and charitably console with the sick person, and offer him the best of what he has, and whatever he may understand should be necessary to him. If he shall require any thing else, it must be obtained for him. Into those houses in which sick or infirm women lie he must not enter; but send by a servant whatever may conduce to their comfort and restoration to health. But before he can do any of the above charities, he must communicate his design to the abbot or prior; and afterward dispense his bounty according to what the income laid aside for these good works will afford.

[P. 204.] IT is the office of the *chamberlain* of the Convent, according to ancient custom, to procure all vestments, shoes, beds, and bedding, that are necessary to the monks, and which they are allowed by the rule to make use of. He must also procure a proper taylor to make up all those of the monks vestments that are within the province of his trade.

[Ibidem.] INCREMENTA *Camæræ facta ad opus Conventus per Johannem de Persore Camerarium, tempore Rondulphi Abbatis.* — Duo *coopertoria* super addita sunt singulis annis, cum prius

prius essent octo, et duo *langella* de Sco Albano, et decem parva, et decem *panni ad radendum*, cum cursu coopertorium; et decem *tunicæ* de blancheto tincto nigro, et decem *capucia*, cum prius essent octo. Tempore *H. Abbatis*, facta est talis estimatio dictorum pannorum et calciamentorum. Tunicarum pretium ij. fol. et vj. den. cum prius essent ij. fol. Langellorum pretium ij. fol. et vj. den. cum prius essent ij. fol. Botarum pretium xvij. den. cum prius essent xij. den. Caputiorum pretium viij. den. cum prius essent vj. den. Parvorum langellorum pretium viij. den. Pannorum ad radendum duæ ulnæ.

Incrementa Cameræ facta ad opus Conventus per *Walterum de Ullington* Camerarium, tempore *Thomæ Abbatis*. — Unum parum *caligarum* de fargio singulis monachis ad Pascha, pretium iij. den. Et, ad dictum terminum, Priori pro *sotularibus* suis ij. fol. Et ad festum S. Michaelis, ij. fol. pro *sotularibus* suis, ad quos terminos non fuit solitus recipere nisi xvij. den. Et ad augmentum *tunicarum*, singulis annis, singulis tunicis vj. den.

Incrementa facta per *Hugonem de Burlyngham* Camerarium *Eveshamiæ*, tempore *Willielmi Abbatis*. — Ad opus Prioris xl. den. ad festum S. Michaelis accipiend. Ubi non consuevit recipere nisi dim. marcam pro frocco, cuculla, et tunica, modo recipiet integre x. fol. ad idem festum. Item ad opus etiam conventus assignavit xj. fol. et viij. den. hiis qui sunt de cursu coopertiorum singulis annis recipiendos: ubi singuli non consueverunt recipere nisi xiv. fol. et x. den. recipient modo singuli integre xvj. fol.

Ricardus etiam de *Glodefale* Camerarius, in tempore suo, adquisivit eis qui sint de cursu coopertiorum iiij. fol.

[Vesp. B. XXIV. p. 52. See also
Stevens's Append. p. 141.]

MEM: — That an assize was held before *Robert de Lexington* and *Radulph de Suthley* justices of our lord the king, then going the circuit, at *Worcester*, in the time of *Richard*, Abbot of *Evesham*. Sworn witnesses there deposed that the aforesaid Abbot, his predecessors, and all his tenants and people from all those towns and villages of his that lie within the county of *Worcester*, were always, in the market of the aforesaid city, free of toll and of every other custom, in every thing sold or bought for their own uses; and of all cattle they reared themselves; and of all things else which they bought for their own use; viz. all sorts of cattle, whether oxen, sheep, or other kinds; excepting only a male horse; for which they were accustomed to pay *two-pence*, whether they bought or sold. But if they bought any cattle or any thing else in the aforesaid market to sell again, either there or elsewhere, as *merchants* and under the name of *merchandise*, for such they were accustomed to pay toll; but in all other matters they have been toll-free for these *twelve years* last past. On that account it was adjudged that the Abbot and his people were free as aforesaid; and

and that the bailiffs of the city of *Worcester* were nonsuited.* And it is to be noticed here that the damages of the Abbot were laid at ten pounds. This assize was held in the year from our Lord's incarnation M,CC, XL. on the Sunday on which is sung *Misericordia Domini*, in the xxv. year of the reign of king *Henry*, the son of king *John*.

[P. 112. b.] Concerning the power of the *Conservator* of privileges.

THE *conservator* should not intermeddle in offences of a *general* kind, but only in those which may have been committed, and that particularly make against those *privileges* of which he is the guardian. He has power to excommunicate all those who commit any crime of this kind—that infringes those privileges indulged to us by the apostolic see; and if, on account of the number of offenders, no particular person will confess his fault, then the conservator may, either in person or by deputation, set on foot a diligent inquisition concerning such offences, and those that he shall find culpable he has it in his power to suspend, excommunicate, or interdict, till they are brought to condign punishment. Thus far his power extends and no farther.

[P. 113.] Concerning the *preservation* of our *privileges*.

SINCE all the liberties of this church depend entirely upon *privilege* and *prescription*,—beware all ye the sons of this church least, on any occasion ye have recourse to the *common law*, when ye have a *special* one already prescribed. For that kind of *liberty* is very easily lost which is founded upon an exemption from the common law, and prescription is very readily infringed because it is odious to the generality. Not only that man therefore deserves to lose his rights who neglects to call in the power of the common law to support them, but also he who does not use the power these privileges put into his hand for their own support. Take care therefore least, at any time ye exceed the bounds of your privileges, by ordaining those of *other* parishes [*alienos parochianos*] to the exercise of the order of *sub deacon*, *deacon*, or *priest* in your own. I call all those *aliens* who have

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* I do not know whether or not I have properly rendered this part. The original phrase is: *Ballivi de civitate Wigornia in misericordia.*

no title for ordination in your parishes; excepting the letter of the diocesan. Neither should ye ever communicate with excommunicated persons, after ye have received notice of their excommunication. Neither shall ye confer the *crism* or oil which was prepared in your own convent among those who are not *privileged* like yourselves; unless at the particular request of your diocesan. Many other cases will occur in which the like caution should be observed. — Moreover because many infringements of the privileges of this church have happened through the secular clergy's undertaking the office of *dean of the vale*, and because, through fear of powerful persons, such men have not defended our possessions, nor have, as a dean should, properly punished offenders against us with ecclesiastical censures; but have, on the other hand, dared severely to animadvert on some of our own people who have been brought before them, thus testifying that a regard for mammon and the temporal riches of this world was the sole rule of their conduct; — and also because they were greatly burthen some to the church, (as, in like manner, was their seneschall in the daily procurations of men and horses,) it is provided and appointed that, in future, the *monks* themselves shall be *deans*, as was formerly prior *Avicius* and several monks after him: who, if they acted amiss, might speedily be removed at the pleasure of the Abbot and Convent, and who, if they acquired any thing, acquired it altogether for their own church; who also boldly animadverted upon malefactors against the church; and who moreover were no greater burthen to the church than a common monk, excepting in the expences of their *apparitor*. Particularly in these times it is necessary the monks should be *deans of the valley*. Because, whenever an Abbot departs this life, unless a monk should be dean, there would be no one who would venture to excommunicate the officers of the king, in case they should, contrary to our privileges, dare to lay their hands on any of the rents appropriated to the offices of our Convent. Nor can any monk assume this power to himself after the death of an Abbot, unless he enjoyed it during the time that Abbot lived. Moreover, we should take especial care not to admit to any of our meals any bishop or archdeacon of *Worcester*, even though they entreated it as merely a favour, [*etiam caritatem petentes*,] or were, as might happen, accompanied by the Roman legate, the archbishop, or the king himself; since this might be interpreted as admitting them to a *right in common law*. The prior however of *Worcester*, the archdeacon of *Gloucester*, unless they should require it officially, as a right, may at any time be admitted. For it will be expedient to admit no one who claims an official right; not even those who have juridical power over parishes within the vale. — It should be considered also, that all *episcopal* burthens are, to houses not *exempt*, very troublesome and expensive; because the bishop may visit his canons, not only once in the year, but as often as he may see occasion. The expences of *procuracion* always accompany these visitations in monasteries subjected to the bishop's power. And not only the bishops, but the archdeacons also, and their servants, are admitted, to the great inconvenience of such monasteries. Their horses likewise are allowed to fatten and grow sleek in the stables of these dependent convents. And not only this, but what is much worse, even the rents of these houses are sometimes conferred on the attendant clerks of the above-mentioned bishops and archdeacons, and heavy impositions are laid upon them in other respects; merely through the pretext of their not being *exempt*. The bishops moreover are easily and frequently drawn over by the abbots to oppress their own monks. — How great then must we suppose their expences and burthens, in attending the call and pleasure of these bishops, to be! — *Unhappy* therefore

fore are they, and *deadly* is their offence, who permit a church, which is by ancient prescription free like ours, to serve as an hand-maid to others.*

In looking over an abstract from the *Registers* of *Evesham Abbey*, the author was struck with the dreadful circumstance of the Convent's having been almost depopulated by the pestilence that raged about the year 1350. He therefore procured from the Museum copies of the two following papers, which were both written near the time of that calamity. The first of these particularly commemorates the tremendous havoc made by it: the other, though it does not, seems at least equally curious in other respects.

[Hatleian MS. 3763. 159. b.]

Concerning the priest who celebrates mass for the *defunct brethren*, and for other benefactors.

TO all the faithful in Christ to whom these presents shall come. — *William*, by the divine permission, Abbot of the exempt Monastery of *Evesham*, and of the Convent of the same place, eternal health in the Lord. — Know ye that it hath been an ancient and laudable custom in our Convent, that for the soul of every monk of the above Convent departed, all his stated allowances of every kind were accustomed, in the same manner as when he was alive, to be delivered out from the refectory, and afterward to be claimed by, and distributed among certain poor persons: — and that there have been so many monks of our house destroyed by the pestilence now raging, that, on account of their multitude, such distribution could not conveniently be made. We wishing, as much as with the Lord's help we are enabled, both to avoid danger in this case, and at the same time, as we are bound, to benefit the souls of our departed brethren, and moreover to alleviate the burdensome expenditures of the cellar and kitchen of our Convent aforesaid; by the

* There is no name or date to this very *curious* and *fly* paper: but we may reasonably suppose it to have been written about the time of *Randulf*: when the bishop of Worcester claimed a *right* of *visiting*, but was repulsed through the instigation of *Thomas de Marleberg*. The stile and language of this paper however seem too good for so remote a period.

the advice and consent of the prior and rest of the Convent, and also by the advice and consent of our beloved in Christ master *William de Stowe*, whom, on account of his great merits and various benefactions, we have joyfully admitted to a confraternity with our house; and who, in order that he himself and his friends (hereafter mentioned by name,) might be interred in our chantry, gave to us, our church, and our successors for ever, all those lands which he possessed in *Stowe*, *Duninton*, and *Malgarbury*, as is more fully set forth in a charter drawn up for that purpose. We ordain, grant, and for ourselves and our successors give and assign, for a perpetuity, to the official of the chapel of our Lady in the crypts, four pounds of silver-money, from the lands and tenements which we possess at *Stowe*, *Duninton*, *Malgarbury*, and *Seynesbury*, by the favour of the forementioned master *William de Stowe*, viz.—Four marks from the lands and tenements in *Duninton*, formerly belonging to *John de Kyrkeby*, and which are now held by *Roger* the chaplain:—Sixteen-pence arising from a curtilage or close in the same place, once held by the aforesaid *John*, but now by *William Ferthyng*:—Eighteen-pence from the rent of one tenement in the same village, formerly held also by *John de Kyrkeby*, but now by one *John Duns*:—Six shillings and eight-pence from a tenement in *Stowe*, formerly occupied by the same *John de Kyrkeby*, but now by *John Baddecok*:—Fifteen shillings and two-pence from one virgate of land in *Seynesbury*, formerly in the occupation of *John Musard*, called *Deonyntoneston*; and one whole tenement situated between the house which formerly was *Abolon le Mason's*, and that of *Roger de Campeden*, in the street called *Ode-street*, in the town of *Evesham*;—from whence the keeper of our chapel aforesaid for the time being shall provide, yearly for ever, one competent chaplain to celebrate divine service for the souls of our brethren departed in this fearful pestilence;—for the health of us; of the aforesaid *William de Stowe*; of *Alicia* his wife; of his sister, and of master *William Bassett de Stowe*, as long as we shall live; and after our emigration from the light of this world, for our soul's health:—Also for the souls of all the Abbots our predecessors now departed; for our dead brethren; our parents;—the parents of the aforesaid master *William*; of master *Richard de Eccleshall*; of *John de Kyrkeby*; of *Odo*, and *Margery de Hyninton*; and of all our benefactors, our parishioners, and all the faithful departed in Christ:—and this to be performed in our great church of *Evesham*, at the altar of St. Stephen, on each day, immediately after the performance of the greater mass.* And if there shall be any residue, over and above what will serve for the payment of the aforesaid chaplain, it shall be converted to the uses and profits of the forementioned chapel erected to the honour of God and of Mary the mother of God. And if it should happen (which God forbid!) that such chaplain should not be provided by the keeper of our Lady's chapel, it shall then be lawful for us and our successors to seize on the whole profits of the aforesaid keeper, for every year of such neglect, to appoint a chaplain ourselves, and heavily to punish in chapter the said keeper, for presuming to defraud so many souls. The aforesaid chaplain must likewise be present every day at the mass of the blessed Virgin Mary in the crypts; and must sing and administer in the same, from beginning to the end. The keeper must also provide and assign one of his clerks, or some other fit and competent person, who shall daily assist the aforesaid chaplain in the celebration of divine

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service.

* The original words are: *post capitulum conventus*. But as one cannot suppose a chapter was held every day, they seem to mean either a mass performed in the chapter-house, or perhaps merely the greater mass, at which the whole convent was present.

service.—That the present regulation may be, without diminution or relaxation, inviolably observed by posterity, we the aforesaid Abbot and Convent have affixed our seals thereto.—Given in our chapter-house of *Evesham*, on the fourth day of the month September, and in the year of our Lord 1350.

[P. 160.] Concerning the priests who celebrate divine service in the chapel *ad Carvarium*.

TO all the faithful in Christ, &c.—*William*, by the divine permission, Abbot of the exempt Monastery and Convent of *Evesham*, health in Him whom a Virgin Mother bare.—These our human bodies may well be likened to dust and ashes, whose entrance into, and departure from, this world are alike lamentable and unhappy. Nor is our conversation while on earth less deplorable: since, as we are well assured, even the righteous man offends seven times a day:—since whatever man performs while living tends rapidly to decay:—since the remembrance of the greatest part of mortals is offensive to posterity; and the memory of him scarce survives his funeral obsequies who hath acted justly during life, and whose last bequests and benefactions are faithfully executed by his successors.*—While therefore the sparks of life remain yet unextinguished, let us, by all means in our power, promote the glory of our blessed Saviour, and of his mother the holy and blameless Virgin. We are also bound to preserve a devout and grateful remembrance of Saint Egwin, bishop and confessor, and of all the saints;—to pray for the peace and tranquillity of our holy mother the church; for the safety and welfare of the state, and for that of our illustrious king of England *EDWARD*, the *THIRD* of that name since the conquest; for that of the lady *PHILIPPA* queen of England, and of their children;—for the souls of their progenitors, and for the future health and prosperity of their heirs:—for *Thomas* earl of Warwick, *Ralph* earl of Stafford, and their heirs, whenever they shall no longer behold the light of this world:—also for our own soul when we shall depart this life;—as likewise for the souls of *William de Chyryton* Abbot; of all the Abbots our predecessors;—for the soul of *William Drant* prior;—of our brethren, friends, and relations:—of *Roger March*; of *Guido* the son of *Thomas* earl of Warwick; of *John Beauchamp* the son of *Richard* lord of *la Holt*; of *John de Guyting* of *Evesham*, and of all our benefactors, our parishioners, and those who have departed in the faith, and with a confidence in the merits of that Saviour, whose goodness is neither included within limits, or confined by bounds.

* There is much melancholy and pathetic dignity in this exordium; but, as the original is, in some places, rather obscure, I am not quite certain of the sense of one or two passages.

bounds.—For this purpose we have constructed a chantry in the chapel newly erected in the cemetery of our Monastery at *Evesham*, near the Abbey-gate; and appointed two chaplains to celebrate divine service there, in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary the glorious mother of God, where there is likewise an image devoutly erected to her memory; and in honour of whom, and to his own glory, God has vouchsafed to work many and great miracles in that place. We therefore ordain (and may the divine favour make the ordinance eternal,) and grant, by the consent and assent of the prior and rest of the Convent, that out of the possessions lately acquired in our own times, there be set apart to our almoner eight pounds six shillings and eight-pence, from our lands and tenements in the towns of *Evesham*, *Bengeworth*, and *Seynesbury*; as may be more fully understood in a deed made in favour of the above almoner, and signed with our common seal. From the above fund he is bound to find yearly two competent priests to celebrate for ever divine service for our own soul, and also for the soul of the aforesaid *John de Guyting*, who has undergone various labours, and much expence in the construction of the said chapel; of which he has also contributed liberally to the support:—with the intent moreover that the souls of the persons above recited shall not be neglected in their prayers and masses. Neither must such persons be omitted in their orations who have already, and may hereafter contribute toward the liberal endowment of the said chapel, or the support of the priests there provided for the continual service of God.—And first, a mass shall be celebrated at day-break in honour of the Virgin; and afterward another for us, the above-mentioned persons, and for all the faithful departed: and this at the third hour, [or nine o'clock,] and in the manner mentioned beneath. One of these priests shall, from the feast of All Saints to the feast of the Purification, at day-break; and from the Purification to the feast of All Saints again, at sun-rise, every day celebrate mass in honour of the glorious Virgin; and shall say the collect, *Deus qui caritatis dona*: and in that collect shall add, *De famulo, famulis, et famulabus tuis*; as also *Dirige eos*, &c. commemorating likewise us who are still living. He shall moreover say the other collect for the defunct, viz. *Inclina*, &c. or *Quiesumus Domine ut animabus famulorum, famularumque tuarum, quorum commemorationem agimus*, &c.—and afterward, *Fidelium*, &c. At the third hour he shall celebrate mass only for the defunct; and shall say daily the first collect, *Inclina*, &c. or *Quiesumus*, &c. The second collect shall be that for our lady, and the third, *Deus qui caritatis*, &c. or, *Omnipotens et sempiterne Deus*, &c. and also the collect *Fidelium*, &c. for the souls of those departed in the fear of God:—observing, in every mass, to make use of the latter collect; and preserving as much as possible the above order in their daily celebrations, unless they should be prevented by the more solemn and principal festivals of the church, in which case they must recite the aforesaid collects as regularly and fully as the time will allow. And lest it should seem burthensome to either one or other of these chaplains to celebrate mass so early and perpetually, we will and ordain, that he who celebrates on one day the mass of St. Mary, shall celebrate, on the next, for the defunct. And he who celebrates one day for the defunct shall, on the following day, celebrate for the Virgin. Thus they will alternately perform their labours. They must also recite the psalm *De profundis*, &c. at the end of every mass; together with the collect *Fidelium*, &c. Each of them shall likewise assist the other, as much as possible, in his duties. On each day shall one or both of them together recite a *Dirige*, with a *Placebo*, in the accustomed manner. On every fourth and sixth holiday, they shall say a commendatory

prayer for the souls of all the defunct in God. To each of these priests shall be payed such a portion of money, from the sum allotted to them, as they can agree on betwixt themselves:— but neither of them shall receive any thing except so long as they recite the aforefaid prayers and masses, in the manner here set forth. If it should happen that these priests, or either of them, should be prevented by sickness from performing their office, it shall be lawful for both or either of them to procure another priest or priests to perform the duty in their room; lest the souls of so many both living and dead should suffer by their neglect.— If it should happen at any time that the said chapel should be out of repair and in a ruinous state, so that the aforefaid priests shall not be able to celebrate mass therein, we ordain and grant, that they may celebrate divine service in our great church of *Evesham*, either at the altar of *William de Chyryton*, Abbot and our predecessor, or at any other, according to discretion of the almoner, until the chapel be fully and properly repaired for their reception. We ordain moreover that the aforefaid priests shall daily attend at the celebration of the mass of the blessed Virgin, in our chapel in the crypts, singing and administering in the said mass, from the beginning of it until the end. And that they shall be obedient to us, our successors, or our commissary, according to law. The almoner may continue or remove the aforefaid priests yearly, as often as, and at those times when, it may seem expedient to him. Thus no one of them shall have a perpetual settlement in the said chantry, on any account. If it should happen (which God forbid!) that the almoner for the time being should neglect to appoint such officiating priests, it shall be lawful for us and our successors to seize upon the whole profits of such official, in every year of such neglect, and appoint from them proper priests ourselves; and also to punish the said almoner in a condign manner for having presumed to defraud so many souls.— This ordinance and regulation we *will* shall be perpetually observed under pain of our severe indignation, on the very day when we shall see it contradicted or reversed. And that it may remain inviolate to the latest times, we the aforefaid Abbot and Convent have affixed our seals thereto.— Given in our chapter-house at *Evesham*, on the eve of St. Andrew the apostle, in the year of our Lord 1360.

The following and concluding paper is from Stevens's Appendix. [p. 401.]

There is still extant, and at this time in my possession, the deed of Henry VIII. *in full*, and in the hand-writing of the time. But as it is very long, and the following memorandum contains every essential particular, it was thought sufficient to insert it here, instead of the original instrument.

A copy of Philip Hoby's particular of the fyte and demesnes of the Abby of
Evesham.

THE SCITE of the late Monastery there, with all orchardss, gardenes, poles, duffcotes, barnes, stables, and houses necessary for a fermor, excepte and reserved certeine edefiengs, houses, and groundes within the same precinct, here beneath recited yerely to be letton.—Thirteen shillings and four-pence.

PASTURE conteyning in all by estimat lxvij. acres lieng in divers closes under-written, that is, to wit, in a lesue called the *Hither Marche* xvj. acres, xxvj. s. viij. d. A leasowe called the *Stuard's Close* xiiij. acres, xxij. s. iij. d. A close called the *Horse Close*, viij. acres, xij. s. iiij. d. And in a close called *Lames Close* v. acres, viij. s. iiij. d. being severall from *Candlemas* till *Trinitie Sunday*. And all the residue of the yere letton for xij. s. iiij. d. which xij. s. iiij. d. is yerely answered for in the rente of the towne of *Evesham*.—One hundred and eleven shillings and eight-pence.

MEDOWE conteyning in all by estimacion lxxi. acres, and lyeng in divers meadows and places within specified, that is, to witte, in a medowe called the *Staplinge* xiiij. acres, xlvij. s. A little medowe called *Offensum Medowe*, iiij. acres, viij. s. A medowe called *Langman Medowe*, cont. xxij. acres, xlvj. s. viij. d. A medowe called the *Prock*, xij. acres, xxxij. s. A medowe called *Eibbesford*, xvij. acres, liij. s. vj. d. In all as appereth by the particulars aforesaid,—nine pounds seven shillings and two-pence.

ARABLE land conteyning by estimat cccc xxvij. acres, lyeng in feilds, places, and grounds under-written, that is, to witte, in a greate feild being arable lieng in tillage cccxliij. acres, viij. l. xij. s. A leasowe called the *Brire Close* xxij. acres, xj. s. xj. d. A leasowe called the *Rymell Well* xlj. acres, xx. s. vj. d. A leasowe called the *Newe Lesowe* xx. acres, over and beside xxv. acres of herbage

herbage hereafter charged amongst other herbage, in all to be arented, as appereth by the parcels forefaid, — ten pounds fourteen fhillings.

HERBAGE of divers woode followinge conteyning by eftimation lv. acres, that is, to witte, of the parke adjoinyng the Monastery, conteyning xxx. acres, xxv. s. All the lefowe called the *Newe Lefowe* xxv. acres, xx. s. over and befide xx. acres, there before charged amongst the arable land, in all, — forty-five fhillings.

MEMORANDUM: — That theis edifiengs, buildings, houfes and groundes under-written are excepte and reverfed for divers caufes and confiderations here declared, and are as no parte or parcell of the rente before expreffed, that is, to witte, The lodgyng or buildings called *Almerye*, adjoyning to the gate at the comynge unto the faid late Monastery one the northe — Apon the Lord's Stable on the fouth — Apon the *Baffe-Courte* towards the efte, and apon *Barton-Gate* towards the wefte, with one garden called the *Almerye-Garden*, one great courte or yarde called *Almery-Courte*, one kechyn, two ftables, *Barton-Gate* with a dove-houfe in the towr of the fame gate, the garden called the *Hynde-Garden* adjoyning to the fame gate, and all the raunge of buildings called the *ftore-houfe*, butting upon the towre of the Abbey-gate northe, and the garner fouth, and upon the almery wefte, with all other buildings, romes and chambers, wayes, courfe and recourfe belonging to the faid almery, and other the premifes appoynted amongst other things by the king's commiffioners there to Sir *Philippe Hayford*, late Abbote there for terme of his life, without any thinge payenge for the fame, or any parcell thereof, &c.

Alfo the lodgyng comenly called the Chamberer's-Chamber, adjoyning apon the Abbot's-Poles efte, and apon the *Baffe-Courte* wefte, and apon the Prince Chappel-Chamber northe, with a kechyn, a garden, a little courte. A houfe called the *Tailour's-Houfe*, or *Apple-Houfe*, and one orchard within the parke, called the *Calve's-Crofte*, with one pole to the fame, and all other eafements and commodities in the letters of *Clemente Lichfelde*, fome time Abbote of *Evesham* forefaid, to the fame *Clement* refigned for the terme of his lief, &c.

The lodgings alfo called the *Receipte*, and all other houfes which the receivers of the faid late Monastery do ufe, and have ufed, to remayne.

And alfo the *Steward's-Lodgyng*, with the *dovecote*, a garden, and other comodities belonging to the fame.

And further the lodgyng called the *Dortor Prinfe Lodgyng* within the faid late Monastery to be referved for the king's officers of the Court of Augmentations, when they fhall repaier hither, with all orchards, gardens, yards, dove-houfes, ponds, pooles, ftues, ftables, hay-lofts, wayes, courfe and recourfe, perteyning or belonging to the fame and other houfes, neceffary for the fame officers.

Parcell of the demeynes of the abovefaid late Monastery of *Evesham*, lying within the parifh
of

of *Salford*, in the countie of *Warwick*. That is, to witte, A MEDOWE called *Honyam* Medowe conteyning by estimation xxvij. acres, are worth yerely to be letton, — fifty-four shillings.

The FERME a parke within the parish of *Benyeworth*, called *Thrawnehil* Parke, and of all lands, meadowes and pastures, with the appurtenance called *Thrawnehil*, occupied and manured in the hands of the late Abbote and Covente of *Evesham* foresaid towards the expence of their housholde, before the late letting thereof, and now of late letten amongst other things to ferme to *John Tyrle* and *Robert Tyrle* of *Beangeworthe*, yeomen by indenture under the Covente Seale of the said late Monasterye, dated the second day of *June*, in the thirtieth yeare of the raigne of our fouveraigne lorde kinge *Henry* the VIIIth, for the terme of lxj. yeres, paying therefore yerely, — twenty-six shillings and eight-pence.

The sum total thirty-seven pounds eleven shillings and ten-pence.

Per me Robertum Burgoyne.

The whole sum paid by Sir *Philip Hoby* to the king for the site, buildings, and adjacencies of this Abbey, was *eight hundred and ninety-one pounds, ten shillings*.

C H A P. VI.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS—VALE OF EVESHAM—RISE OF THE TOWN FROM THE ABBEY—REMARKS ON THE ORIGIN OF OTHER ENGLISH TOWNS—FAVOURABLE SITUATION FOR MANUFACTURES AND TRADE—GARDENS—PRESENT STATE OF THE TOWN—SOIL, AIR, &c.—SOME ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN THE VICINITY.

PREVIOUS to any remarks on the present state of the Borough of *Evesham* it may be proper to obviate, if possible, if not, at least to prepare the reader for some degree of disappointment, should he have formed expectations of meeting with a light, easy, and entertaining narrative, resembling many of those that have been lately produced on subjects of this kind. Besides that the comparative smallness of this town will not afford the opportunity of an amusing descant upon its *public diversions*, &c.—which might give birth to many a droll anecdote and much mirthful gossipry, the want of *manufactures* must leave a wide chasm both in our amusement and instruction. The description of the various machines that are made to serve such useful purposes is indeed one of the most improving, as well as pleasing tasks, in which a writer of these local narratives can be engaged. *Natural history* is sometimes another most delightful object of these topographic productions; and from some late specimens of this sort we cannot but regret that it is not more frequently and copiously made use of to enliven and diversify them. Whoever has perused that entertaining and curious work, the “*Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne*,” will readily subscribe to this opinion, and join in sentiments of wonder and applause that an author, confined within such narrow limits, and proceeding in so beaten a track, should have been able to produce a work of universal interest, and of so much original information. This also, both from the nature of the work, as well as the different habits of study of its author, is in the present case denied

denied us. What therefore the reader may, without much hazard of disappointment, expect is, after some observations on the present state of this Borough, a rather more copious delineation of its antiquities,—an historical account of some remarkable transactions belonging to it, and of some eminent persons to whom it has given birth, or afforded a residence:—in which respects this place may possibly afford some compensation for any deficiency in more amusing articles of information.

The *Vale of Evesham*, to which this town has given a name, and which in every period has been so highly famed for fertility and beauty, is now become the appellation of a very large tract of country. The distant towns of *Cheltenham*, and even *Worcester*, are by some supposed to be situated in it. But there is reason to suppose that its limits, now so indefinitely extended, were originally of very confined dimensions. The possessions of the Abbey were at one time the only spots dignified by this appellation. This, at first merely a conjecture, has been of late nearly realized by a paper procured from the British Museum; in which the boundaries of this vale are determined in the Saxon language. Though the names of some places differ in a small degree, upon the whole it nearly coincides with what is, in a note on the first chapter of this work, given as the original limits of the Abbey-lands. Both are now, it is true, with equal difficulty to be traced. A hedge then standing, but now perhaps, ages since, removed; a dyke long ago filled up; a large stone; and sometimes a pit, or even hole in the earth, are the objects commonly made use of to mark out these boundaries. Little more than the hills, rivers, with some few villages remain, which can at present assist any attempt to follow these limits. But, on the whole, it may be easily seen that these accounts agree with each other; that they are both the limits of the lands then in possession of the monks; and that the boundaries of the vale were enlarged in proportion with the increase of their domains. These are well known to have extended chiefly to the north and east of the Abbey. It is therefore probable that we can *nearly*, and in a *general way*, lay down the limits of what was formerly called the vale* of *Evesham*, by supposing that

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Sambourn

* This must be understood however as the *vale*, when the Abbey possessions were at their greatest height. Originally, as may be seen in Chap. I. of this work, the limits were comparatively very narrow.

Sambourn and *Coughton*, in Warwickshire, both formerly belonging to this foundation, were its extremities to the northward. *Binton*, in the same county, and once in its possession, though afterward alienated from it, on the north-east. The *Broadway* hills, a boundary indicated by Nature herself, on the east. *Stowe* and *Bourton*, both in Gloucestershire, on the south-east. From thence contracting the space greatly, so as to pass considerably northward of *Winchcomb*, through *Aston Somerville*, where the Abbey had also some emoluments, to *Hampton*, on the south. *Crothorne*, and its dependant hamlet *Charlton*, having never been possessed by the Abbey, formed of course its exterior limits on the south-west. *Fladbury*, likewise independent of it, rather more toward the west. From whence the hills branch out northward, and form a natural boundary almost to the place first-mentioned in this slight attempt to mark out the original dimensions of the now widely extended vale of *Evesham*.

St. Egwin may be considered as the *founder* of this town, as well as of the Abbey to which it was once annexed. To that foundation it owes its entire origin from nothing, and its subsequent increase. With a fate similar to that of *Perthore*, and many other places of the same description, it flourished with the prosperity of its Abbey, declined with its decay, and, in some measure, sunk at its dissolution. This however is not equally true of both places. *Perthore* so much sympathized with its abbey, that till within these last thirty years, when the beauty and salubrity of its situation invited many strangers of affluence to settle there, it underwent an almost total annihilation as a town. *Evesham*, which soon after the dissolution, (in the reign of James the first,) was, together with *Bengworth*, erected into a Borough-town, never experienced a similar depression; yet from a comparison of its *present dimensions* with many particulars concerning its *former extent* which are supplied by ancient records, many deficiencies may be observed. Several whole streets, mentioned in those records as populous and well built, are now no longer to be found; or if with difficulty traced out, a row of barns, stables, or out-houses will be seen to occupy their site. The street so often noticed above, under the appellation of *Brut-strete*, at this time consists only of a small assemblage of stables and hovels, which go by the name of *Briton-street*.
Ode-strete,

Ode-strete, likewise often mentioned in this work, still subsists as a narrow lane; well enough inhabited, but very ugly and ill-built, and is at present called *Oat-street*. But all around the extremities of the town, and indeed at considerable distances from it, are frequently found the foundations of old buildings, and those sometimes of considerable extent. As long ago as about the year 1220, and in the time of the Abbot *Randulf*, we read of the *old town* and market-place of *Evesham*; which seems to indicate that great additions to this place had then been lately made, and a distinction observed between them and the former erections, which no longer subsists, even in the memory of the oldest persons. — Yet, upon the whole, as in the case of *Perthore*, the advantageous and healthy situation, with moreover the addition here of the Borough immunities, and an extensive cultivation of garden-grounds, have of late years rather increased than diminished the size and population of *Evesham*.

To enquire into the *probable origin*, or the *gradual*, and sometimes *rapid increase*, of our English towns in general, would be an amusing, and perhaps useful speculation.* It has however never, that I know of, been indulged

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* *Camden*, in the first volume of his *Britannia*, has laid down such excellent and useful rules for discovering the *origin* of the *names* of many towns from their local situation or other accidental circumstances belonging to them, that, as that work is not, on account of its size and price, in the hands of many persons, I will transcribe them nearly at full length.

“ AB, in the beginning of names of places is often a contraction of *Abbot*, and implies either that a monastery was there, or that the place belonged to some monastery.

AC, AK, being initials in the names of places, signify an *oak*, from the Saxon *Ac*, an *oak*.

AL, ATTLE, ADLE, all seem to be corruptions of the Saxon *Æthel*, *noble*, *famous*; as also ALLING and ADLING, which are corruptions of *Ætheling*, *noble*, *splendid*, *famous*.

AL, HAL, are derived from the Saxon *Healle*, a *hall* or *palace*. So in Gothic *Alh* signifies a *temple*, or any other *famous building*.

ASK, ASH, AS, all come from the Saxon *Æsc*, an *ash-tree*.

BAM, BEAM, as initials in the name of any place, usually imply it to be, or at least to have been, *woody*; from the Saxon *Beam*, which we use in the same sense to this day.

BARROW,

to any great extent ; nor is this a work that will, with propriety, admit of more than a few desultory remarks.—A small number of these towns are, as their names imply, evidently of British origin ; with sometimes the subsequent advantage of becoming a military station for the Roman soldiers. Others may have arisen entirely from these stations. To many of our principal cities and large towns the residence of some or other of the Saxon princes gave origin long after. Some of these had however previously been Roman stations. A baron's castle, or a religious foundation, in later periods, gave rise to great numbers of our smaller towns and large villages. In still later times a great road leading to the metropolis has, on its direction being altered, sometimes seduced many inhabitants from a neighbouring village, and been the cause of the erection of a new one within the same parochial limits. The rapid

BARROW, whether in the *beginning* or *end* of names of places, signifies a *grove* ; from Bearwe, which the Saxons used in the same sense.

BRAD, being an initial, signifies *broad, spacious*, from the Saxon Brad, and the Gothic Braid.

BRIG, (and possibly also BRIX,) is derived from the Saxon Brigg, a *bridge* ; which to this day in the northern counties is called a *brigge*, and not a *bridge*.

BRUN, BRAN, BROWN, BOURN, BURN ; are all derived from the Saxon Born, Bourn, Brunna, Burna ; all signifying a *river*.

BUR, BOUR, BOR, come from the Saxon Bur, an *inner chamber*, or *place of shade and retirement*.

BURROW, BURH, BURG, are derived from the Saxon Burg, Byrig, a *city, town, tower, or castle*.

BYE, BEE, come immediately from the Saxon By, Byring, a *dwelling*.

CAR, CHAR, in the names of places, seem to have relation to the British Caer, a *city*.

CASTOR, CHESTER, are derived from the Saxon Ceaster, a *city, town, or castle* ; and that from the Latin *Castrum* : the Saxons chusing to fix in such places of strength as the Romans had before built or fortified.

CHIP, CHEAP, CHIPPING, in the names of places, imply a *market* ; from the Saxon Cyppan, Ceapan, to *buy or traffick*.

COMB, in the end, and COMP in the beginning of names, seem to be derived from the British Kum, which signifies a *low* situation.

COT, COTE, COAT, are all from the Saxon Cot, a *cottage*.

CRAG,

rapid progress of many modern towns, from the introduction of some kind of manufacture, is almost too obvious even to mention.

The spot whereon the present Borough of *Evesham* stands was, as we are assured by ancient authors, before the erection of the Abbey a solitary wilderness, over-run with thorns and brambles. An imagination accustomed to such speculations will easily follow its progress from a few tenants and dependants settling around the Abbey, with the addition afterwards, as the wants of mankind increased, and trade branched out into various independent casts, of a numerous race of handicraft men; and so down to its present comparative state of opulence and population. That these settlers were, at first, entirely dependant on the Abbey, cannot, on consulting the older records,

CRAG, is in British a *rough steep rock*, and is used in the same sense in the northern counties, at this day.

DEN, may signify either a *valley*, or a *woody place*; for the Saxon Den imports both.

DER, in the beginning of names of places, is generally to be derived from Deor, a *wild beast*: unless the place stand upon a river; for then it may rather be borrowed from the British Dur, *water*.

ER, a syllable in the middle of names of places, comes by contraction from the Saxon Wara, *dwellers*.

ERNE, **E**RON, come from the Saxon Ern, Earn, a *cottage*, or *place of retirement*.

EY, **E**A, **E**E, may either come from Ig, an *island*, by changing the Saxon g into y, which is usually done; or from the Saxon Ea, which signifies a *water, river, &c.* or lastly from Leag, a *field*, by contraction.

FLEET, **F**LEOT, **F**LOT, are all derived from the Saxon Fleot, which signifies a *bay* or *gulf*.

GRAVE, a final syllable in the names of places, is from the Saxon Græf, a *grove* or *cave*.

HAM, whether initial or final, is no other than the Saxon Ham, a *house, farm, or village*.

HOLME, **H**OWME, whether jointly or singly, comes from the Saxon Holm, a *river-island*; or if the place be not such, the same word signifies also a *hill, or mountain*.

HOLT, whether at the beginning or end of the names of any place signifies that it is, or has been, *woody*, from the Saxon Holt, a *wood*; or possibly sometimes from Hol, *hollow*, especially when the name ends in *tun* or *dun*.

HYRST, **H**URST, **H**ERST, are all from the Saxon Hyrst, a *wood* or *grove*.

INGE,

records, and considering the spirit of the feudal tenures, be at all doubtful. This indeed records of a much later date will shew to have been entirely the case. Had any species of manufacture been introduced previous to the dissolution, this town would have early felt and asserted a greater degree of independence. As this however did not take place, it was not till near that period, nor probably till that event seemed inevitable to all men, that this spirit of vindicating its rights began to spring up. A paper inserted as a note to the beginning of the fourth chapter of this work will evince to what a height it then suddenly arose. By denying some of the Abbey privileges, which had been long before gradually declining, and assuming them as its own,—without depriving any body of men of their legal dues, or much injustice or detriment to individuals, it assumed rights which were confirmed on

INGE, in the names of places, signifies a *meadow*, from the Saxon Ing of the same import.

LADE, is the *mouth of a river*, and is derived from the Saxon Lade, which signifies a *discharging*; there being a *discharge* of the waters, into the sea, or into some greater river.

LEY, LEE, LAY, are all from the Saxon Leag, a *field* or *pasture*.

LOWE, LOE, come from the Saxon Hleaw, a *hill*, *heap*, or *barrow*; the Gothic Hlaiw signifies the same thing.

MARSH, MARS, MAS, are derived from the Saxon Merse, a *fen*, or *fenny place*.

MER, MERE, always signify the same with the Saxon Mere, a *pool*, or *lake*.

OVER, has a double signification in the names of places, according to their situation. If the place be upon, or near, a river, it comes from the Saxon Ofer, or Ofre, a *brink*, or *bank*:—But if there be in the neighbourhood another place of the same name distinguished only by the addition of *Nether*; then *Over* is from the Saxon Ufar, *upper*, as *Nether* is from Nither, *lower*.

PRES, PREST, seem to be derived from the Saxon Preost, a *priest*.

RIG, RIDGE, seem to signify the *top of a hill with quick descents on each side*, from the Saxon Hrigge, a *back*.

STEAD, STED, if the place be at a distance from any river comes from the Saxon Sted, Styd, a *place*; but if upon a river from Stathe, a *shore*, or *station for ships*.

STOKE, STOAK, seem to come from the Saxon Stocce, signifying *the body of a tree*.

STOWE, STOE, whether singly or jointly are the same with the Saxon Stow, a *place*.

THORP, THROP, THREP, TREP, TROP, are all from the Saxon Thorp, a *village*.

TON, TUN, from the Saxon Tun, a *hedge*, or *wall*.

WEALD,

on its incorporation ; and of which the vestiges may be observed at this very day.

Nothing, it may be reasonably presumed, but the vicinity of such towns as *Birmingham*, *Wolverhampton*, *Worcester*, &c. could (for we cannot imagine a proper spirit of enterprize would otherwise be wanting,) prevent a town so advantageously situated from being the seat of some kind or other of manufacture. The Avon, a fine, generally deep, and always navigable river, communicates, on the one hand, with *Stratford*, and other large inland towns; on the other with *Tewksbury*, (where it mixes with the Severn,) *Gloucester*, *Bristol*, and many other places of less importance in its course. With how great labour and expence this river has, in its progress through the vale, been rendered navigable, will be particularised at some length hereafter. Yet never has the capricious genius of commerce and manufacture, in spite of these advantages, alighted at *Evesham*. His influence, in fact, seems in most instances to have been accidentally exerted. Neither directed or fixed by any local convenience of situation, it has most commonly co-operated with the ingenuity and lucky discoveries of some enterprising individual. It might however be imagined that, on any subsequent transplantation, these advantages would be principally consulted. But this has by no means been always the case. While *Evesham*, and some other towns of a like description are neglected, we see manufactures arise and flourish at places, where, till of late, nothing but land-carriage could be employed in the circulation of their produce.

WEALD, WALD, WALT, signify a *wood*, or *grove*, from the Saxon Weald, a word of the same import.

WERTH, WEORTH, WYRTH, whether initial or final, signify a *farm*, *court*, or *village*, from the Saxon Weorthig, used in the same sense.

WIC, WICH, from the Saxon Wic, which according to the different situation of the places had a threefold signification ; implying either a *village*, a *bay made by the winding banks of a river*, or a *castle*.

WIN, in the name of any place denotes that a *battle* has been fought there ; for so the Saxon Win signifies.

WOLD, whether singly or jointly, signifies a *plain*, *open country* ; from the Saxon Wold, a *plain*, or *place without wood*.

produce. — What may hereafter be effected by the public spirit and laudable exertions of some yet unborn inhabitant of the vale cannot be foreseen; but, in the mean time, it is the best, and should be the first, object of works of this kind to endeavour to rouse our countrymen to such useful projects; and, by displaying the advantages of local situation, shew, at the same time, the probability of success, if once undertaken in earnest.

Gardening, which is, at present, (if it may be so termed,) the sole *manufacture* of this place, is said to have been first of all set on foot and encouraged by the monks, some time before the reformation. With more probability however, does Dr. Nash assert that the example of garden cultivation was first exhibited by a major *Bernardi*, an Italian by family, but born in this town about the middle of last century; and who, after a very active and adventurous life, retired hither and amused himself with this employment to a considerable extent. These gardens now occupy the whole of the Abbey site, and form a circle of considerable dimensions almost around the whole town; but chiefly on the inclining banks to the south and west of it. The good St. Egwin, probably without intending it, has chosen a spot for these gardeners which they would find it difficult to amend, were they to search the whole kingdom. Naturally black, fertile, and easily worked, it has been enriched by the rubbish of the old Abbey-buildings, and perhaps also by many generations of fat and well-fed monks, long since mouldered into their original dust. Ten thousand pounds are, at the lowest valuation, annually turned by these gardeners, who supply all the neighbouring towns, but especially *Birmingham*, and sometimes carry their fruit, particularly cherries, into the farthest parts of Yorkshire. Every species of their produce is deservedly esteemed excellent in its kind.

The town of *Evesham* is situated just fifteen miles south-east of the city of *Worcester*, the direct road from which place to the metropolis (distant 96 miles,) passes through *Bengworth*, formerly an independent village, but now incorporated into the Borough. From *Bengworth* it is separated by the Avon, over which is built a large, but irregular stone bridge. The middle arch is of a remarkable height, nearly I suppose equal to the centre arch

arch of Blackfriars-bridge in *London*, but the side arches do not at all correspond with that or with each other. We find mention of a bridge here as early as the year 1159. It must however have undergone many *partial*, if not *total* repairs; as again, in the year 1374, we find the greater part of it was swept away by a flood. On the western side of it the town occupies a regular, but steep ascent, and makes a figure worthy of much larger, and better built places. Its splendid tower, and two churches crowded together within a very small space, excite in a stranger the idea of a *cathedral*, or of some *collegiate* edifice. The old wall which formerly separated the Abbey from the town began from the western extremity of this bridge, and extended quite to the river on the other side of the peninsula. At the eastern end of it stood the castle of *Bengworth*, which belonged to the *Beauchamp's*; till, as we have already seen, it was most heroically attacked by one of the Abbots, about the year 1156, and razed to the foundation. Not the least remains of it are now to be observed, except that the spot it occupied is still called the *Castle*, and that there is a moat of some depth which nearly surrounds the site, and communicates with the river on both sides.

The villages which border on these two incorporated towns are *Offenham*, nearly north; *Aidington*, a hamlet to *Badsey*, north-east; *Wickamford*, almost due east; *Hinton*, south-east; *Hampton* on the south, extending also to the river due west; and *Lench-wic*, on the north-east. Of most of these some notice has already been taken.

Evesham consists of two principal streets. On the north is the High-street, (not improperly so called, being in general well built, and at least equal in breadth to any street in England,) to which, but near its southern extremity, the Bridge-street, still better built, but comparatively narrow, joins at right angles. This street, after some level space, descends rather abruptly to the bridge, which connects it with *Bengworth*. It has many handsome shops, and several very good and well attended inns.

A little to the south of the junction of these two streets, and in a sort of irregular square called the Market-place, stands the Town-house or Guild-

hall; a plain, but substantial and roomy edifice. It is supported by arches, and over them is a handsome apartment for public meetings, which, in the winter season, is often graced by a genteel and numerous assembly. Passing out at the eastern angle of this square, you come, through the old Saxon gateway before-mentioned, into the cemetery, or church-yard; likewise a square, and pleasantly planted with trees. Here, within a few yards of each other, stand the two churches, and the tower built by *Clement Lichfield*. Through the arch of this tower you enter an open green space overlooking the river, and known by the appellation of the *Cross-church-yard*; either from its having formerly had a cross erected in it, or because it was the cemetery to that part of the Abbey church which was once intersected by the transept or nave. This spot, though probably at all times considerably elevated above the river, seems to have derived much additional height from the quantities of rubbish which were scattered all around from the immense fabric of the church, at the time of its demolition. Wherever you break the surface nothing but these fragments are to be found. There is also the greatest reason to suppose that under some part or other of it the crypts of that edifice still lurk undiscovered. This terrace is remarkable for its pleasantness and extended views, and is of considerable resort as a kind of public walk.

The inferior streets and lanes deserve notice only as having been mentioned in the ancient records. Oat-street, frequently noticed before under the name of Ode-street, joins to the High-street on its eastern side, and intersecting Cole-street, (of which also mention is frequently made in the old writings,) passes down to the river. Cole-street uniting itself to Bridge-street on its northern side, after crossing Oat-street, falls into a lane called Swan-lane; which latter joins to the High-street, quite at the northern extremity of the town. Below these, and almost on the river's brink, is another broad but irregular lane, called Mill-hill; which, running parallel to Cole-street, connects the lower part of Bridge-street with the large corn and oil mills here erected on the Avon.

On the western side of the High-street are two other inconsiderable lanes
running

running parallel to it. The nearest of these is at present called Briton-street, and is doubtless the same which under the appellation of Brutte, and sometimes Brugge-street, in the ancient records of the Abbey, conveys to the reader an idea of some population and importance. It now does not, that I know of, contain a single habitable tenement. The furthest, of a similar description, is called Little-worth. These, on the northern side, both fall into an uninhabited lane called Gardiner's lane; and, at the southern end, communicate with Bewdley-street, of a less forlorn appearance. These two last-mentioned lanes run also nearly parallel to each other.

On the western extremity of the town, and in front of the house of Mr. Phillips, so often mentioned before, is a wide and scatteredly inhabited open space called, for what reason I know not, Mastiff's-green. This terminates in a narrow passage, which running between the old Abbey-wall and the garden-grounds, passes down to the river, across which there is here a ferry to *Hampton*. Of the above assemblage of streets and lanes is composed the whole of the present town of *Evesham*.

Bengworth consists of little more than a single street, called Port-street, which follows the course of the turnpike-road to a considerable distance. This road does not pass through *Evesham*, but turning short to the left at the foot of the bridge, keeps for some space on the river's edge, and so leads to *Per shore* and *Worcester*. In the charter of incorporation we are informed that the frequent tumults and disturbances which happened at *Bengworth*, to the coercion of which the power of the bailiffs of *Evesham* did not then extend, were the principal cause of its junction to that town. This was effected in the third year of James the first, at the intercession of Henry prince of Wales, as appears by the two rough-hewn verses at the head of the charter.*

E e 2

In

Princeps.

* *Mi pater, hoc primum pro Cambris da mihi votum.*

Rex.

Scis me, nate, nihil posse negare tibi.

In ancient times *Evesham* was governed by two bailiffs, who, in all civil causes, acted under the Abbot.* The corporation at present consists of a mayor, high-steward, recorder, chamberlain, seven aldermen, of whom four are justices of the peace, twelve capital burgesses, and twenty-four other burgesses, called assistants. There are also many other inferior offices, of which the administration has been some time disused, and now lies dormant. The corporation has authority to hold sessions, and try felonies and treasons. The mayor is almoner and clerk of the market. He has deodands, the goods of felons, and toll. In the town-house above-mentioned, which was built by one of the *Hoby's*, (probably Sir *Edward*,) the assize for the county was at one time held, but is now removed to *Worcester*. The privilege of trying and executing for capital offences is likewise transferred to the general assize held at that place; nor has any execution taken place at *Evesham* since about the year 1740, when a woman was burnt for petty treason. The gallows however, as an emblem of executive authority, still remains, though forlorn and untenanted, about three-quarters of a mile to the north of the town.

Leland, who at the command and expence of Henry the eighth travelled nearly over the whole kingdom, that he might preserve every valuable memorial of the lately dissolved monasteries, says of this town in his quaint and obsolete language:—"The town of *Evesham* is meetly large, and well builded with tymbre. The market-sted is fayre and large. There be divers praty streets in the towne. The market is very celebrate. In the towne is noe hospital or other famous foundation but the late Abbey."

This market, still much frequented, is kept weekly on Mondays. There are four yearly fairs, the first on the second day of February, the second on the Monday next after Easter, the third on Whit-Monday, and the fourth on

* This plainly appears from the following incident mentioned by Dr. Nash: from whom many of the following particulars are also borrowed.

"In the 20th year of Henry the third the liberties of *Evesham* were seized for using false measures when the king was here; but they were restored upon the submission of the *Abbot* and *monks*.

On the twenty-first day of September. These fairs are particularly famous for the sale of strong black horses.

In the fifth year of queen Elizabeth this town contained the following number of families:—The parish of All Saints one hundred and seventy-three, and St. Lawrence one hundred and thirty-eight. In 1776, they jointly contained four hundred and fifty families, according to the return made to bishop North.

Upon an exact survey taken in 1777, All Saints was found to contain two hundred and fifty-three families, and one thousand and fifty-two individuals. St. Lawrence contained one hundred and ninety families, and seven hundred and ninety-six individuals. Thus we may observe that whatever was the *decline* in population, immediately after the dissolution of the Abbey, since the reign of Elizabeth, the *increase* has not been inconsiderable. No survey has since been made, nor can the number of inhabitants be supposed to have varied much since that period.*

At four shillings in the pound, St. Lawrence pays to the land-tax one hundred and sixty-eight pounds and thirteen shillings. All Saints, one hundred and seventy-nine pounds eleven shillings and nine-pence. The town has an exclusive jurisdiction, and does not pay to the quarter-rates.

The

* A rough sort of estimate of the *present* population of these two parishes may be made in the following way.—The average of burials in the parish of All Saints, for the last twelve years, is twenty two and near one-half; which being multiplied by forty-five, a number out of which one person at least, even in the smallest and most healthy places must die, one year with another, produces the number one thousand and twelve for the present population. This compared with the number found at the survey in 1777, shews a decrease of forty individuals. The average in St. Lawrence, for the same term of years, is seventeen one-half, which, by the same method, produces the number seven hundred and eighty-seven. This compared with the survey has a deficiency of nine. As this kind of calculation is very liable to fallacy, though much practised at present, I should lay no great stress upon it, did not the baptisms in both parishes indicate the same thing.

Average

The arms granted to the corporation by their charter are:—Azure, a prince's crown over a garb of the earldom of Chester all Or, bound with the same, and Sables, between two ostrich's feathers of Wales, Argent within a border of the third bezantry for the earldom of Cornwallis, Sables.

What Dr. Nash affirms of the soil of the county in general, is true of the vale around *Evesham* in particular; excepting that the former of the two qualities he mentions is much the most prevalent in this country.—“The ploughed grounds of Worcestershire are of two kinds, a stiff clay frequently with marle underneath, or a light soil with gravel under it. Almost all modern improvements,” he adds, “have tended to the advantage of the light soils; the rents of which have by that means been doubled or trebled within the last century. The stiff clay still wants improvement; to obtain which the good farmer takes great care to keep his ground dry, does not make his lands too high, but makes them small, and where necessary carries off the springs by underground drains filled with wood, stone, or any other materials which will let the water pass through, and not easily rot; not suffering any water to stand in the furrows. He always ploughs his land in season, that is, in dry weather; and repeats the ploughing and harrowing as often as possible. He pulverises the clay as much as he can, taking every opportunity of stirring the mould. He ploughs deep, especially the fallow, by which he *creates* soil. He always sets his beans and peas in rows, and hoes them. He sets potatoes, cabbages, &c. and moulds them frequently. He sows turnips and hoes them three times; for, by drawing them, as mentioned beneath, he can raise turnips advantageously

AVERAGE OF BAPTISMS IN

<i>All Saints.</i>	<i>St. Lawrence.</i>
From 1777 to 1784, (inclusively,) — 28 one-half.	- - - - - 24 seven-eighths.
1785 to 1792, — 26 one-half.	- - - - - 24 one-eighth.

The population of *Bengworth* was in the year 1779, found to be five hundred and eighty. Number of houses, one hundred and thirty-four. Land-tax at four shillings, — ninety-two pounds six shillings and four-pence.

advantageously upon stiffish clay. He never will attempt to raise too many crops without a fallow, if the land be not naturally very good. Two crops are sufficient ; but let the nature of the land be ever so rich, he never attempts more than three crops and a fallow : for in this, as in many other instances, the *greedy* farmer is his own enemy, wastes his seed and time, impoverishes his land, and has no return : whereas the clay-soil, if well tilled and kept in good husbandry, yields much more upon an acre than the light land. Yet it must be confessed that the light lands have many advantages : they may be ploughed almost in any season, the team need never lie idle ; whereas the vale farmer had better let his horses play for weeks together, than attempt to plough when the ground is wet. Again, strong land has this disadvantage : -- it produces the largest crops in dry years, when corn is always cheap ; whereas the light lands will have the best crops in wet years, when corn will always be dear ; thus verifying the old proverb :

When the sand does feed the clay,
 O! then 'tis lack and well-a-day :
 But when the clay does feed the sand,
 O! then 'tis well for old England."

The same judicious author has several other remarks on the husbandry of this country, which, though perhaps the modern improvements in agriculture (of which by the way he seems to speak too contemptuously,) have rendered them in some measure superfluous, I will also insert.

“ The grass land is managed better than the ploughed, for the good farmer levels it, drains it, and frequently dungs it, and finds by experience that manure pays better when put on green-sward than on tillage : but wet land must first be drained and made sound by rolling and penning of sheep, otherwise the manure sinks through the bog, and has very little effect. Upon such lands as cannot be drained, which are very few indeed, coal ashes, rubbish, and such things, answer better than rich manure. Our farmers do not manage their hedges well, but put in too much dead wood, and make them

them so thick that the live quick is killed. They do not make their ditches deep and wide enough. In clay soils they should never be less than four feet wide, and four deep. They would then secure the hedges, and serve as drains to the land. A year or two after the hedges are plashed, they should be guarded from cattle either by a fence, or by frequently sprinkling them with cow-dung and lime.

The uplands should not be too frequently mowed; not oftener than once in three years, and should be *manured* the year they are mowed. Where the land is subject to flood, the manure should be put on as soon as the hay is carried: in other grounds as early as possible in winter. In many soils a very good way of manuring grass-grounds is by pulling the turnips from a neighbouring field, and feeding cattle and sheep with them on the greenward.

One acre of turnips pulled will go as far as two eaten upon the spot. Besides in wet seasons or in land naturally moist the farmer may feed his cattle with turnips, which otherwise he could not do without great prejudice to his tillage. If the grass-ground be very wet he keeps his cattle in stalls, giving them turnips, grain, or oil-cake, according to their several prices. The dairy-man finds no inconvenience by giving his cows *some* turnips, but they should not be fed *entirely* upon them; if they are, the taste of the butter may be affected. But sure I am, that those who talk much of the offensive smell and taste of oil-cake beef, turnip mutton, &c. do it more out of fashion and compliment to the delicacy of their own taste, than any real sensation.

The general rent of the pasture lands is under twenty shillings an acre. On the Avon's banks meadow-lands are under thirty,* at which rent many of them were valued in the time of Elizabeth, when all the cattle and sheep kept upon the hills were wintered in the vales; whereas by the improvements

* In this respect I apprehend the intermediate distance of time (though Dr. Nash's work was published no longer ago than 1781,) has made some difference.

ments of clover, fanfoin, turnips, and such like, the farmers in the vale, both for the sake of keep, and for preserving their sheep sound, often send their stock upon the hills. As for burnet, lucerne, and an hundred other modern improvements, they are the ideas of speculative men who farm upon a small scale.

This county in general has no breed of cattle peculiar to itself, most of the land being supposed too rich to carry a breeding stock. The horned cattle come chiefly from Herefordshire and Staffordshire, and the sheep from Herefordshire, Wales, Dorsetshire, and Shropshire."

The *air* of this part of Worcesterhire has nothing so peculiar as to merit much notice. It varies, as usual, according to the difference of soils and situations. Around *Evesham*, where the soil is light, it is pure and salubrious. In lower situations and deeper soils it is more or less so as circumstances vary: but no where are agues, fevers, or other epidemic disorders so frequent as in most other countries.

The *water* from the springs, which are very numerous around this town, is rather hard and heavy; and not unfrequently tinged with some mineral. It is also too apt to subside to the bottom of vessels in a stony sediment, which is perhaps the worst quality water can possess. *Bredon*, a very high hill south-west of *Evesham*, certainly contains much iron; and from it a spring runs to *Cropton*, (about two miles from this place,) which yields to few in point of chalybeate powers. There has also been much ferruginous matter observed, though in small and scattered particles, in a gravelly soil, to the north of the town: all round the spot called Battle-well. But in the present case neither of these qualities, of which the one must be invariably detrimental to the constitution, and the other perhaps equally so by continual use, seem to preponderate sufficiently to affect the health of individuals. Those complaints which might be expected from their prevalence do not, as I am informed, appear more frequently here than in other situations.

The Avon water has one peculiarity worth mentioning;—it almost equals
F f in

in weight and hardness that from the pumps. This quality, hitherto unaccounted for, is supposed to prevent the salmon, with which the Severn abounds, from entering this river. Few instances are remembered of their being caught in the Avon; but this circumstance may probably be the cause that other fish, particularly eels, with which it abounds, are more firm in their texture, and of better flavour than those of any other river.

Two or three of the smaller kind of antique utensils lately found in this vicinity, and of which the figures and description were furnished me by the Rev. Mr. Beale of *Bengworth*, will properly enough close my account of this town.

No. I. in the annexed plate represents a cup, probably of very ancient workmanship, which was found near half a mile northward of *Bengworth*, and about a furlong from the Avon, on its eastern side. A meadow here rises gently from the river, and in it part of the turf was broken up to dig for sand. After removing two or three feet of common mould, and a layer of sand of the depth of four feet, in a very hard bed of gravel was found the cup here represented. The workman struck his pick-axe into the brim, which he broke by that means, not being aware of any thing worth preservation. He afterward broke near an inch of the brim all around, to make it level and uniform. No building or ancient encampment was ever situated near the spot, if we except only that part of *Bengworth* which still goes by the name of the Castle, though no remains are now visible. The strata of earth were observed to lie quite undisturbed, and in their natural state. Both the form and materials of the cup are coarse and rough. The colour of it is nearest that of free-stone or dry mortar. Though plainly a composition, it is far harder than any stone, and on the inside may be traced, though faintly, circular marks, similar to those on the inside of a dice-box. If the rudeness of the workmanship and coarseness of the materials may be admitted as indications of antiquity, this cup may claim a date prior to the government of the Romans in this island. Its circumference in the widest part is seven inches, in the smallest three and an half. Its height is about six inches, diameter two, and inside depth five and an half.

No. II.

No. II. is an ancient ornament, as is supposed, to some coat of armour, either of man or horse, to which it was probably fixed by three small pins; there being three holes discernable in it, though partly filled up by sand and rust. It is brass, and from the ground-work which is less worn than the prominent parts, appears to have been richly gilt. The figure on it is a representation of St. George of Cappadocia slaying the dragon, and is very like what is still used for the order of the garter. This ornament was found in the garden of a house at *Bengworth* that formerly belonged to the *Watson* family; at the head of which was the celebrated *John Watson*, first dean, and afterward bishop of Winchester. This honour he attained by means of that shrewd and discerning woman queen Elizabeth; who being informed by the earl of Leicester that *Watson* had secretly offered two hundred pounds to him that he might obstruct his intended promotion, and this merely out of a love of private life and studious retirement, like an excellent judge of character pronounced that — “he who would give two hundred pounds to decline preferment was more worthy of it than he who would give two thousand to attain it.

No. III. is a brass instrument which the ingenious historian of *Manchester*, to whom a figure of it was sent, affirms to be, and obviously is a *celt*. These have been found in every part of the island, but, as they vary in their construction, it was thought proper to insert a representation of this. It was found near a spot called the Battle-well, of which more will be said hereafter. — Antiquaries have differed very much concerning the use of these instruments, and from their size and form it is very difficult to conceive they were of any use at all. Mr. *Whitaker* adheres to the opinion which he has long since given to the public in his “History of Manchester,”* and considers it as a light battle-axe for hunting. *S. Gale*, an eminent antiquary, published, in 1724, a “Dissertation on Celts,” in which he gives it as his opinion that they were fleaing knives, (called by the Romans *Cultor excoriatarius*,) and were used for separating the skins from the bodies of animals offered in sacrifice. This he says of such only as are made of brass. Mr.

Ff 2

Whitaker

* Quarto, vol. i. p. 13—16.

Whitaker (in a private letter to Mr. *Beale* on the subject,) says, that “ if such weapons as these had been used only in sacrifices, there could never have been so many, by hundreds, as there are. The frequency of their discovery shews the commonness of their use. They must have been as numerous as the occasions of warfare, or the calls of hunting. They are too light for warfare generally, and were therefore destined for hunting. The heavy massive celts of stone were certainly designed for war ; but, what is singular, no such have been found in metal.”

C H A P. VII.

PUBLIC EDIFICES—CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, WITH ITS MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS—ST. LAWRENCE—ST. PETER IN BENGWORTH—TOWER OF CLEMENT LICHFIELD—TOWN-HALL—SCHOOLS, &c.

THERE is perhaps no species of writing more disgusting to a reader than a long continued series of uniform description. Some care will therefore be requisite, where so many subjects present themselves, to avoid a tedious prolixity in their delineation. Between the minuteness of mere *church-notes*, and that sort of vague representation which impresses on its object no distinguishing mark or character, there is a middle way much more eligible than either, in works of considerable extent. But as it is the privilege of genius only to seize these leading and discriminating features, and of the exactest judgment only to give to each object its due portion of notice or admiration, the author will be content to pursue a more beaten track:—satisfied if he can but avoid the extremes both of endless particularity, and of a too careless and indiscriminate attention.

The church dedicated to All Saints has been mentioned in the former part of this work; but as no plate of it has been engraved, and it is an edifice of a very peculiar construction, some farther description of it may seem requisite.—From an ancient deed of one of the abbots, inserted in the Appendix, it might be too hastily supposed that this church was first erected about the year 1350. The deed runs thus:—“For this purpose, (to pray for the souls of the departed kings of England, for the prosperity of the reigning monarch Edward the third, and for other benefactors,) we have constructed a chauntry in the chapel newly-erected in the cemetery of our Monastery at *Evesham*, near the Abbey-gate: and appointed two chaplains to celebrate
divine

divine service there, in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary the glorious mother of God, where there is likewise an image devoutly erected to her memory; and in honour of whom, and to his own glory, God has vouchsafed to work many and great miracles* in that place." The situation seems perfectly well to agree with that of the present edifice: but beside that it has an appearance of much greater antiquity, the deed is so worded as to make it very doubtful whether it was the chapel itself or merely the chauntry belonging to it, that had then been *newly-erected*. In translating the deed† the author gave into the former supposition; but from a thorough inspection of the church, he is nearly convinced that many of its parts may boast of a much earlier date than that of the paper in question.

However this may have been, this church is composed of very heterogeneous fragments, and was probably put together at very distant periods. Half buried in the earth; small in all its parts, and yet with a certain greatness in their design; it will always appear to a curious spectator as a miniature-model of some much larger edifice. The porch by which you enter it is of very beautiful construction, but apparently patched on long since the foundation: probably at the dissolution and demolition of the Abbey-church. It is nearly a square of twelve feet by ten, embattled on the top, and much ornamented on the outside. It so greatly resembles the chapel of *Clement Lichfield*, in the south aisle, as to leave little doubt but that both were formerly parts of the great church. The battlements of both are of open work, and of much greater delicacy of formation than the rest of the church. But what seems most convincing with respect to the chapel is,—that it has not been

* These miracles, it cannot well be dissembled, never sprang up in so bounteous a crop as when some edifice was to be erected, and money was wanting to complete it; or was already erected, and means were to be furnished for its support.

† The words of the deed itself are these:—"Quandam *Cantariam* per duos presbiteros in *Capella quam* de novo construximus in Cemiterio Monasterii nostri *Eveshamiæ*, *juxta portam* Abbatissæ, divina celebraturos in honore B. Mariæ Virginis Dei Matris gloriosæ, ubi in ejus memoria ymago est devotissime collocata, ad cujus laudem et ipsius Dei gloriam magna et innumerabilia miracula idem Deus operatur ibidem."

been affixed to the church in a parallel direction with the rest of the south wall. Another circumstance will not escape the accurate observer, — that the battlements of this chapel on its south front absolutely extend beyond the corner of the fabric, and are thus left in a broken and interrupted condition. — The interior of this beautiful chapel is an area of sixteen feet by about thirteen. On an escutcheon on the fretted roof are the initials of its founder's name, C. L. and on another the Abbey arms. Though inferior to that of St. Lawrence in its construction, it resembles it so much, in every respect, as to make a representation only of the most perfect of the two at all necessary.

The body of the church is nearly one hundred and thirty feet in length. The greatest breadth, including the two aisles, is seventy-three. These aisles are separated from the main body by four arches of good architecture, but of very unequal dimensions; the easternmost on each side being of near double the size of the rest. The church is well pewed, kept clean, and in pretty good repair. At present it serves for both the parishes. Unlike our ancestors in this, as in many other respects, we do not require much room for our devotions, or much elegance in those erections which we dedicate to the service of our Creator. On the same spot where formerly an immense church and the two chapels received each a crowded and grateful congregation, who were sometimes doubtless mindful they did not owe every thing they possessed entirely to their own exertions, one of these chapels will now serve for our snug orisons. — The increase of sectaries will, it must be owned, account in part for this difference: — but it is much to be feared that, as the shadow ever follows and denotes the *reality* of the substance, so true religion will ever be accompanied by some degree of what we are so ready to entitle superstition: — and that as our present self-dependence and petulant spirit of discrediting whatever we cannot clearly account for encreases, we shall fairly get rid not only of the *shadow*, but chase away the *substance* itself.

There are no very curious ancient monuments now left in this church. What remained in the time of *Habington*, who collected materials for a history

tory of this county in the reign of Charles the first, I will give almost in his own words.

In the first pane of the chancel window: Gules six martlets Ermine. In the window of Derby chapel on the north side: Gules, three legs joined and armed, Argent. This, if I understand my author, is repeated thrice, in so many panes of the same window. In another pane: Azure three arms joined in the same manner and armed with daggers. In the middle pane: *Mortimer* within an escutcheon, Argent. On another pane to the right hand: Argent, two bars Gules. In a pane to the left: Or two bends Gules, for the arms of *Sudeley*. On the remaining pane: Gules, a fesse and two mollits, [mulletts,] of six points in chief, Or.

In the same chapel, upon a tomb-stone inlaid with brass plates, is a priest praying with this inscription: “Hic jacet *Johannes Sadeler* capellanus, qui obiit 13 die Junii, A. D. 1502, cujus animæ propitiatur Deus. Amen.”*

In the next window of the north aisle, consisting of four panes, is first: Azure a chain in a chevron with a ring in the dexter and a horse-lock in the sinister, and between them three mitres labelled Or; for the *Abbey of Evesham*. — In another pane: Azure a cross floree between four martlets, Or. — In the last pane: Gules a fesse between six crosslets Or, quartering chequy Or and Azure a chevron Ermine, in an escutcheon quarterly; Argent and Gules frettee Or, a bendlet Sable.

In the middle aisle, (or body of the church,) is a stone inlaid with brass, having the resemblance of a man, with his wife on the right side, with this inscription: *Orate pro animabus Roberti Wyllis, et Agnetis uxoris ejus; quorum animabus propitiatur Deus. Amen.*† Somewhat below, on a grave-stone

* “Here lieth *John Sadeler*, chaplain, who died 13 June, 1502; on whose soul God have mercy. Amen.”

† “Pray for the souls of *Robert Wyllis*, and of *Agnes* his wife; on whose souls God have mercy. Amen.”

stone of the same kind : — “ Hic jacet *Johannes Okley* quondam mercator hujus villæ de *Evesham*, qui obiit 27 mensis Junii, A. D. 1586 ; cujus animæ propitiatur Deus.”*

Toward the south part of the body of the church, on a grave-stone, is the following odd inscription :

“ In this grave and sepulture
Lieth John Cornishe, and James his sonne.
Of his mercy he make them sure
By whom all grace was first begun.”

Next to this is a tomb-stone in memory of *John Homan*, “ of the blood I think” (says Mr. Habington,) “ of *Feckenham* abbot of Westminster, whose father’s name was *Homan* ; but, being born in *Feckenham*, changed his name when he entered into religion.” On the stone is a cross gradated.

In the lowest window of the south aisle are : — Sable two keys in saltire Or, between them a sword in pale with the hilt downward proper.

In the middle pane of the south window, amidst the broken glass is,
* * * “ *Margarettæ uxoris Johannis Pachte*.”

In the second window, at the end of the south aisle, is a golden cross with the figure of a pope standing by ; probably Constantine I. The white rose, the badge of the house of York, is frequently to be seen here. In the westernmost window of the same aisle are : — Gules two keys in saltire, Or.

At the upper end of the south aisle, on a stone inlaid with brass, is the
G g resemblance

* “ Here lieth *John Okley* formerly a merchant of this town of *Evesham*, who died June 27, 1586 ; on whose soul God have mercy.”

reſemblance of a woman between her two huſbands, with this inſcription :—
 “Orate pro animabus *Thomæ Jordan*, et *Elianoræ* uxoris ejus, qui huic ec-
 cleſiæ præcipui erant benefactores ; qui *Thomas* obiit A. D. 1526, menſis
 Auguſti die 17. Et pro anima *Willielmi Yver* primi mariti dictæ *Elianoræ* ;
 et pro animabus filiorum et filiarum eorundem. Quorum animabus pro-
 pitietur Deus. Amen.”* Below are the figures of fix ſons and two
 daughters.

On the right hand of this are a man and his wife, with this inſcription :
 —“Hic jacent *Thomas Gouldſmith*, et *Agnes* uxor ejus, ac pueri eorundem ;
 quorum &c.”† —Below are three daughters. The reſt are now defaced.

A farther deſcription of *Clement Litchfield's* curious chapel will appear to the
 beſt advantage in the very words of this antiquary. —“About the middle of
 the ſouth aiſle is a curious building called *Litchfield's* chapell ; in whoſe em-
 bowed chapell is a ſcutcheon with letters of gold, C. P. L. and on another
 the lock and chain, enſigns of the *Abbey of Eveſham*. At the entrance of this
 chapell lyeth humbled on the ground the reſemblance of an abbot truly great
 in leaving the dignity of his high place ; and wiſe, when foreſeeing the ſtorm
 that overthrew this with other religious houſes, he ſtruck fail to avoid ſhip-
 wrack. His reſemblance is engraved at the altar in prayer. On his right
 hand : “Deus in nomine tuo ſalvum me fac.” On the left : “Et in virtute
 tua judica me.” Below, on one ſide : “Quia in inferno nulla eſt redemptio.”
 On the oppoſite : “Miſerere mei, Deus, et ſalva me.” Underneath his feet
 an inſcription, (which was alſo painted on one of the windows,) —“Orate
 pro anima domini *Clementis Litchfield* ſacerdotis, cujus tempore nova turris
 Eveſhamenſis

* “Pray for the ſouls of *Thomas Jordan* and of *Elianor* his wife, who were particular bene-
 factors to this church ; —which *Thomas* died Auguſt 17, 1526. And alſo for the ſoul of *William Yver*
 the firſt huſband of the ſaid *Elianor* ; alſo for the ſouls of their ſons and daughters. On whoſe
 ſouls God have mercy. Amen.”

† “Here lie *Thomas Gouldſmith*, and *Agnes* his wife, and their children ; on whoſe ſouls, &c.”

Eveshamensis ædificata est."* — He was buried, as appears by the register-book, October 9th, 1546."†

In the vestry, at the west end of the church, were formerly the arms both of *Gloucester* and *Evesham* abbies.

So far Mr. *Habington* affords us some information concerning the ancient state of this edifice, but scarcely a fragment of what he has thus described, at present, exists. The painted glass has all been broken, and replaced by common glass; all the inlaid tomb-stones have been entirely defaced; and it was with some difficulty the author was enabled to discover the tomb of the venerable *Lichfield*, merely by the description before given of its situation in the church.

The principal *modern* monuments may next claim some notice.‡ — On a small monument, against the east wall of the chancel: Party per pale Sable and Argent, a chevron between two heads erased counter-changed of the field, impaling paly of six Argent and Gules, a bend Or. This monument was erected in memory of the following persons:—*Sarah* the wife of *John Mitchell*, clerk, L. L. B. vicar of this church. She died November 25, 1721, aged thirty-three. The Rev. *John Mitchell*, L. L. B. died September 9, 1724, aged forty-one. *Thomas*, *Mary*, and *Sarah* their children. Also a daughter of the above-mentioned *John Mitchell*, by *Mary* his second wife, who died December 31, 1725, aged ten months.

G g 2

Another

* "Pray for the soul of *Clement Litchfield* priest, in whose time the new tower of *Evesham* was built."

† Mr. *Habington* cannot here be supposed to mean the register of the church, but of the Abbey; from whence he acquired many of his materials.

‡ In this heavy, though necessary part of the work, I have, it must be confessed, done little more than copy from Dr. Nash's collections; comparing however his account of these inscriptions with the monuments themselves, supplying some deficiencies, and correcting some mistakes.

Another small monument, on the north side, Vert frettee Argent. *Adam Cave*, gent. died October 18, 1698, aged twenty-nine: and by its side a larger monument for two of his female descendants, *Elizabeth* and *Anne Cave*. 1728.

Underneath a small monument to *Anne*, the wife of *Richard Cave*, the mother of the above-mentioned ladies, who died October 13, 1685. Beneath this is another to the memory of *Thomas Cave*, who died March 24, 1661.

ON FLAT STONES WITHIN THE COMMUNION RAILS:

Inscriptions to the memory of *Thomas* and *William*, sons of *John Keyt*, and of several persons of the family of *Cave*.

Mary the wife of *John Jephcott*, D. D. vicar of this church. She died October 18, 1680. On the same stone is an inscription to the memory of *Evan Jones*, vicar of St. Lawrence and Cleeve Prior, who died December 26, 1768.

Edward Field, gent. twice mayor, and many years alderman, and justice of peace of this Borough. He was buried December 31, 1682. *Anna* his wife died August 26, 1698, aged eighty-seven.

Edmond Young, who died September 20, 1657. On the same stone *Richard* his son, who died January 1, 1690.

BELOW THE COMMUNION RAILS:

On an oval monument fixed to the south wall: *Samuel Baron*, clerk, A. M. master of the free-school in this Borough, died November 17, 1713, aged thirty-three.

Opposite the above is a large new monument erected to the memory of *Thomas Horne*, gent. citizen of London, who died in 1769, at the advanced age of eighty-four.

Mary Stretch, who died June 13, 1780, aged sixty-four.

ON FLAT STONES:

Inscriptions for several persons of the name of *Hopkins*.

Mr. *Philip Ballard* was buried January 17, 1670, aged thirty-eight.

Thomas Ashfield, gent. September 24, 1766. Below are inscriptions for *Elizabeth* his wife, and two of their children.

Mary, wife of *Henry Hulford*, died February 8, 1683. *Henry Hulford* died June 30, 1705, aged fifty-five.

Mr. *William Rudge* was buried May 13, 1720, aged forty-five. *Elizabeth* his wife died October 10, 1727, aged forty-eight.

Mr. *John Ballard*, who died September 6, 1675.

Thomas, the son of Mr. *Martin Ballard*, December 19, 1677.

Agnes-Jane, daughter of *Theophilus* and *Agnes Walford*, April 4, 1770.

Thomas Hull, gent, died March 22, 1724, aged forty-two. He married *Sarah*, daughter of *Giles Parsons*, Esq. of *Overbury*, in this county.

On the east wall is a small monument erected to the memory of Mr. *Thomas Martin*, who died December 14, 1679. He was twice mayor of this Borough, in the years 1652, and 1677. Mr. *William Martin* died June 14, 1653, aged seventy; who had also been mayor in the years 1623, 1632, and 1641. *Ann* his wife died September 12, 1656, aged sixty-eight, after having borne him thirteen children. *Thomas Martin* their only surviving son erected this monument.

The above-mentioned Mr. *William Martin* bequeathed three pounds per annum to Mr. *George Hopkins*, minister of this parish; and after his decease, to a godly preaching minister in the parish of St. Lawrence; and, for want of such, to the poor of All Saints in *Evesham* for ever.

On a pillar is a monument of black marble, with an alabaster bust erected to the memory of *Mary*, wife of *Edward Bulstrode*, Esq. of *Tewkesbury*, in the county of Gloucester, and second daughter of *Samuel Gardiner*, of *Evesham*, gent. She died November 18, 1715, aged sixty-one. Below the inscription

inscription are these arms :— Quarterly ; first Sable a buck's head with an arrow in the mouth Argent attired Or. Second and third, Argent a chevron Gules between three squirrels Sable with nuts Or. The fourth as the first, empaling Azure a chevron Ermine between three kites heads erased.

Against a pillar, a small monument with *Gardner's* arms, inscribed :—
 “ Mrs. *Elizabeth Gardner*, daughter of *Samuel Gardner* of this parish, gent. died October 26, 1713, aged forty-seven.”

On a flat stone near the chancel :— Mrs. *Mary Fletcher*, daughter of the Rev. *Philip Gardner*, rector of *Tickley* in the county of Oxford, and relict of the Rev. *Theodore Fletcher*, rector of *Godington* in the same county ; died March 31, 1722, aged sixty-four.

On a marble monument fixed to the east wall of the north aisle, anciently (according to *Habington*,) called *Derby-chapel*, are the arms of *Gardner*, with the following inscription :

“ Near this place lieth the body
 of *George Gardner*, Esq.
 a zealous advocate
 for the protestant religion,
 and the true interest of his country ;
 who knew how to acquire
 and how to enjoy :
 in whom the rich will want a friend,
 the poor a protector.
 Ob. 11 Nov. anno Dom. 1729 ;
 ætat 70.”

On another small monument :

“ Near to this lieth the body of *Thomas Bartlett*, gent. a professor of physic, buried February 16, 1686, aged forty-nine.

On

On a flat stone: a saltire empaling a fesse indented between three heads. The inscription: — Sub hoc lapide requiescit pars terrena *Theophili Andrews* armigeri, per annos 13 jam proxime elapsos hujus burgi recordatoris; quem mors dura oppressit 18 die Decembris, anno Dom. 1670, ætatis suæ 47.”

Against the western wall of the Derby-chapel is a very handsome marble monument erected to the memory of *Elizabeth Baylies*, wife of *William Baylies* of this town, and daughter of *Robert Cookes*, Esq. who died April 28, 1754.

Further down the north aisle, a monument to Mr. *John Suffield*, mercer, of *Evesham*, who died December 1, 1712; *Jane* his wife; *Mary* his daughter, and two grand-children. Also *Thomas Suffield*, gent. who died July 27, 1768, aged eighty.

Still farther down: — Rev. *Paul Cardale*, March 1, 1775; and *Sarah* his wife, April 1, 1767.

Next to the above: — *William Baylies*, gent. February 14, 1760.

At the end of the same aisle: — *Anne Baylies*, daughter of the Rev. *Theodore Fletcher*, rector of *Godington*, Oxfordshire. February 23, 1732.

Against a pillar on the north side of the body of the church, a new monument inscribed to — Mrs. *Anne Bodlege*, September 10, 1781.

In the fourth aisle, below *Lichfield's* chapel, a neat monument to — Mr. *Thomas Dunn*, March 25, 1777. Mr. *Bartholomew Dunn*, February 25, 1786. Mrs. *Elizabeth Dunn*, January 9, 1792, aged eighty-eight. Also two relatives, *Elizabeth* and *Mary Walker*, who both died in the seventeenth year of their age.*

On

* There are many other inscriptions, both in the church and adjoining cemetery, some of them commemorating persons of no inferior note to the above; but it would have been an endless task to

On the front of the gallery a benefactor is thus commemorated : — “ *Philip Gardner*, three times bailiff, and once mayor of this Borough, by his last will and testament gave three houses in *Offenham*; to the end that the poor of this parish should have twelve-pence in bread every Sabbath for ever.”

Above the gallery are the names of many considerable benefactors, both to this parish, and that of St. Lawrence; whose memory it would be ingratitude to entrust only to the frail materials on which they are at present inscribed.

The first is a repetition of the above benefaction of *Philip Gardner*.

John Gardner of *London*, merchant, gave four pounds six shillings and eight-pence, payable yearly by the goldsmith's company; and eighteen shillings per annum from a tenement in Watling-street, *London*; for teaching twenty-five poor children in the two parishes to read English.

Robert Bishop, in performance of his wife's will, gave a rent-charge of twenty shillings yearly out of a close near *Evesham*, to the minister of St. Lawrence; if none there, to the poor of St. Lawrence for ever.

Mrs. *Elizabeth Gardner*, by will, gave fifty pounds, the interest of which was to be disposed of yearly to the poor of the two parishes: and *George* and *Anne Gardner*, her brother and sister, fifty pounds more, to make the said charity five pounds per annum.

Mrs. *Abigail Martin* gave twenty shillings per annum from the rent of a close

to have copied the whole. Those inserted are merely the *mural* monuments, with a few of the flat stones in, or near, the chancel. There is however one inscription, just at the entrance of this church, which it would have been injustice to have omitted. It begins with this remarkable sentence: — *Here lies an unprofitable servant*. This modesty and humility (whether the man's own, or that of his surviving friends is not certain,) excited some curiosity. On enquiry it was found that the person buried here, one “ *Samuel Morris*, who died June 6, 1745, aged seventy-four,” was a liquor-merchant in this town, and a great consumer of his own stock in trade. No day, it is said, ever passed without his setting the laudable example to his customers of swallowing near two quarts of his own spirituous liquors; and this without much apparent intoxication. That he should have lived to such an advanced age would seem incredible, unless we suppose that he began this practice at a late period of his life.

close in the parish of St. Lawrence, to be distributed yearly to twenty poor women.

The same person gave six shillings and eight-pence more, payable out of the above close, to the poor of the two parishes.

Thomas Matthews, merchant, gave five pounds per annum out of certain houses and land in *Evesham*, to apprentice out poor children of the parish of All Saints.

Dr. *Jephcott* gave, by will, four pounds per annum to the minister of All Saints; and ten shillings more to the poor of the above parish.

Mr. *Hanks* gave fifty shillings per annum out of a house and lands in *Peopleton*, for the repair of the roads between *Worcester* and *Evesham*.

Anne Roberts, by deed dated October 2, in the ninth year of Charles I. granted to the corporation of *Evesham* one messuage in the Oat-street, in trust for the master of the free-school there, on condition of his making a speech every 5th day of November.

Mr. *Lawrence Banks*, minister of *Stanton*, gave a house in the parish of St. Lawrence, to supply the poor of both parishes with twelve-pence in bread every Sabbath-day.

Mr. *Maltby*, of *Brickland*, Gloucestershire, gave thirteen shillings to the poor of All Saints, and the same sum to the poor of St. Lawrence, to be distributed in bread every Sunday, out of two houses in *Evesham*.

By an anonymous benefactor, twelve shillings per annum were given, to be distributed equally between the poor of both parishes at Christmas, out of the rents of a house in the High-street, *Evesham*.

Mr. *Savage* of *Elmly* gave sixty pounds to the corporation; the interest of which was to be expended in apprenticing out poor children of the Borough.

Sir *Thomas Biggs* built the new shambles; the rents of which were to be distributed to the poor by the corporation.

Mr. *Palmer* of *Alcester* gave twenty shillings for the use of the poor of *Evesham*.

Thomas Watson of *Bengworth*, Esq. in 1612, gave forty pounds to buy wood and coals, and ten pounds more for other uses, to the poor of this Borough.

Mr. *Edmund Symonds* of *Pinvin*, attorney at law, gave, in 1616, five pounds to the poor of this place.

John Watson, bishop of *Winchester*, gave forty pounds to buy materials to set the poor of this Borough to work.

Mr. *William Bond* of *Evesham* gave thirteen pounds ten shillings to the two parishes.

Edward Walker, gent. one of the aldermen of this Borough, gave ten pounds to the poor of All Saints, to be disposed of as the corporation should think proper.

The right honourable *Thomas* lord *Coventry* gave a rent charge of twenty-five pounds per annum from certain lands in *Breedon* to the poor of both parishes; to be distributed by the corporation.

A close in *Evesham*, called *Spicer's-close*, was by deed, dated thirty-sixth year of Charles II. granted by *Robert Cookes*, gent. to trustees, for raising fifty shillings yearly; to be laid out in coals for supplying twenty poor persons of the two parishes.

One shilling to each of the parishes was, by some anonymous benefactor, made over to the church-wardens, out of a little ait, (a sort of island,) between the mills and the bridge of *Evesham*.

The rents of the Key-house, at the bridge-foot, was appropriated to the use of the parish church of All Saints, in the same manner.

Two shillings and six-pence yearly, payable out of certain tenements in *Evesham*, were also thus set apart to the parish of All Saints.

As also six shillings and eight-pence out of another house in this town.

The above account was made out in the year 1722, and signed by the two church-wardens, *Edward Child* and *Thomas Harris*. It principally respects the parish of All Saints. That belonging to St. Lawrence now follows:

George Gardner, Esq. paid, during his life, four pounds fourteen shillings and seven-pence yearly out of lands in *Kemsey*; three pounds to the minister of *Evesham*, and the rest to the poor.

Mary,

Mary, wife of *Thomas Bishop*, gave twenty shillings per annum, over and above that before-specified, out of a close in *Evesham*.

Alderman *Rudge* gave a messuage and farm in *Great Hampton*; of which two-thirds of the rent were to be set aside for the maintenance of a lecturer in the parish of St. Lawrence, and the remainder to the poor of *Bengworth*. Thirty pounds more were give by the same gentleman for the above uses.

The widow *Lye* of *Croptborne* in the county of Worcester gave a tenement in Cole-street; the rents of which were to be annually divided between the poor of St. Lawrence, and of *Croptborne*.

Mr. *Philip Hay* gave five pounds to the poor of this parish.

Mr. *James Mitchell* gave forty shillings per annum out of the rents of the George-Inn in this parish, to the poor belonging to it. He was in other respects a great benefactor. He gave twenty pounds toward repairing the causeway; built a new cage; contributed twenty pounds to the repairs of the bridge; glazed the chancel; built a new pulpit; and gave a set of chimes.

Three pounds per annum were, by an anonymous benefactor, made over to the minister of St. Lawrence, out of a close in *Great Hampton*.

Nicholas Field, gent. deceased, gave, by his will dated February 6, 1679, twenty shillings per annum out of some land in *Evesham*; to be distributed weekly in bread to the poor of this parish.

Leonard Fryer, gent. gave, by will, fifty-two pounds per annum, payable out of three tenements in *Evesham*, to be distributed in bread to the poor of St. Lawrence, viz. one shilling in bread to each poor person that attends divine service.

Seven shillings and two-pence per annum were made over to this parish, by some anonymous benefactor; as also six shillings per annum to its minister, out of a piece of land in *Evesham*.

The church-wardens for the time being, viz. *Thomas Langston* and *John Bazond*, have also affixed their names to this. The date is 1722.

The names of the incumbents of these parishes, as far as they can be procured,

cured, may, as there is now but one minister for both, properly be noticed here.

CHAPEL OF ALL SAINTS.

Patrons.

Henry VIII.

Charles II.

Anne Regina.

George I.

George II.

George III.

Incumbents.

Robert Wyllis, cl. 12 March, 1545.

John Jephcott, cl. A. M. 3 August, 1663.

John Soley, A. B. May, 1692.

John Mitchell, cl. 21 August, 1707.

Nathaniel Nicholls, cl. 11 Nov. 1724.

John Ballard, 1 December, 1726.

William Burchinshaw, A. M. 4 July, 1735.

Edward Thornes, cl. 15 March, 1736.

Evan Jones, cl. 24 September, 1750.

Edward Cooper, 15 April, 1769.*

CHAPEL OF ST. LAWRENCE.

By licence of the Vic. Gen.

James Littleton.

Thomas Twitty, S. T. B. 13 Nov. 1639.

John Jephcott, cl. A. M. 3 August, 1663.

Not many yards to the south of All Saints stand the venerable remains of the above-mentioned chapel; formerly likewise an appendage to the Abbey. In its original state it must have been an edifice of great beauty: though there is little doubt but that the great eastern window, as well as the chapel on the south side, were not added till immediately before the demolition of the great church. The date of its erection, or at least its consecration, is ascertained by

* It is very remarkable that the exemption of the six churches, viz. *Hampton, Wykamford, Badsey, South and North Littletons*, and *Offenham*, from the ordinary of the diocese, so strenuously contended for while in the monk's possession, still continues. The legality of this exemption was contested, in the year 1587, by bishop *Freake*; and a paper concerning it was by him drawn up, which may be found in Dr. Nash. Vol. 1. p. 422.

by a memorandum inferted in the former part of this work.* We there read that on Sunday, the 15th of the kalends of January, 1295, the church of St. Lawrence was dedicated by the bishop of St. Asaph; who seems to have had much business of this kind upon his hands, at that period. There is however in this church an air of much less antiquity than in All Saints, which can only be accounted for by the many subsequent reparations it has undergone. It is not very long since that a brief was procured for its renovation; and the contributions amounting to near six hundred pounds, the northern side was entirely rebuilt; the separation that formed the aisle on that side removed; a new roof erected; the windows glazed; and every thing set in order for immediate use. But by some unaccountable fatality, all now is in ruin again; the glass all broken; and the pavement entirely torn up, except in the chapel. We are informed by Habington that there were two chapels here, one at the upper end of each aisle: but only one now remains. The reparation of the north side probably caused the entire removal of the other. What a later respectable historian tells us concerning this church, viz. that it is used only as a place of burial for poor persons, who die of the small-pox or any other contagious distemper, is entirely without foundation; and seems a conjecture which the appearance of the place might possibly suggest.

The entire length of this church, from the west door to the great window, is ninety-six feet. The breadth, including the aisle, about fifty-four. This single aisle is separated from the body by seven arches, of very beautiful, though certainly not very ancient architecture; over which were once fourteen small windows, of a similar form, but now closed up. Over the north entrance is the figure of a lamb, well executed, but doubtless brought from some other situation: all that side, as before observed, being of very modern date. Both this church and All Saints have spires still standing; but these, particularly that belonging to this edifice, are in a state to endanger a passer-by on every powerful gale of wind. The spire of St. Lawrence, though not lofty, may be recommended to a curious observer, as a species of building that has not probably its counter-part in the whole kingdom.

The

* P. 103. Note.

The chapel of Clement Lichfield, in the south aisle, is of small size, (about eighteen feet by sixteen,) but of such elegance and delicacy of construction as a verbal description would but imperfectly convey to the reader's imagination. I must therefore refer him to the plate, which very faithfully and minutely represents all its tracery, and fret-work ornaments. The same eulogium may be passed on the eastern window of this church, of which also a very accurate plate is given.*

There is nothing else worthy much notice in this church, if we except its broken font, and a sort of arched vault, or charnel-house at the east end: but, as in a former instance, Habington has left us a pretty exact account of what remained in his days, which I will now copy.

In the principal pane of the east window, is the white rose crowned: in the next, France and England quartered. In the highest north window of the body of the church, is the representation of a benefactor, in the habit of a doctor of divinity.

In the first pane of the lowest window of the north chapel:—Azure an eagle displayed Argent. “Here,” says my author, “it wanteth somewhat; for this should be (I think) *Vampage's* coat.” In the last pane: Gules three cups covered Or, for *Boteler*. In the east window of the same chapel: “Orate pro animabus *Roberti Brooks* et *Elizabethæ uxoris ejus*.”

In the north window of the body of the church: Gules a fesse between six crosslets Or, quartering chequy Or and Azure a chevron Ermine. In another pane the royal arms quite broken, except one quarter for France.

In the highest south window of the body of the church: Barry wavy of six
Argent

* This plate is the first production, in its kind, of a young native of the place, whose name is engraved on it. If unpatronised and unprotected talents have any claims upon the public, those of this young person may surely be recommended to it. All the *drawings* for this work, most of them of incomparable beauty and exactness, were performed by him, and well deserve the inspection of every lover of the art.



Engraved by L. Roe.

Published by J. Agg, February 1794

ABBOT LITCHFIELD'S CHAPEL in the CHURCH of ST. LAWRENCE.

To CHARLES WELCH Esq^r a Liberal supporter of this Work. This Plate is humbly dedicated by his most humble Servant John Agg

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Argent and Sable. In the first window of the south aisle: Azure a chain in a chevron with a lock Or, the Abbey arms. In the second south window: Paly of six Argent and Azure a chevron Ermine, supported by two eagles Or.

The more modern inscriptions on grave-stones are mostly torn up or defaced. In the chapel only are some inscriptions, still visible, commemorating several persons of the family of *Field*. A gentleman of that family now resides at *Evesham*, who has authentic documents to prove that, soon after the dissolution, a considerable quantity of land, and above thirty tenements, lying north of the Abbey-site, were by James I. granted to an ancestor of the same name, then in high office at court.—By this gentleman was the first hint of undertaking this work suggested to its author:—a hint which the manner in which it has been executed must render meritorious or superfluous, in the public estimation.

The church of St. Peter in *Bengworth* will not long detain the reader. It is a large, irregular, and plain, but ancient edifice; ornamented with few monuments of note. There is reason to suppose that on the same spot or near it, a more ancient church once stood erected by earl *Leofric*, and dedicated to the holy Trinity. A memorandum in the Abbey appendix* makes mention of such an edifice, as well as of the costly manner in which it was decorated: and it would be difficult to assign any other situation for it. There is moreover a tradition, still current, that the church was originally dedicated to the Trinity.—Habington has not neglected this church; but gives, in his usual manner, the following account of its painted glass and other ornaments.

In the east window of the chancel: Gules a fesse between six martlets Or. On the other side: Or a chevron Gules and quartering Ermine.†

III

* Page 183.

† The author must not be considered as responsible for the correctness of all these heraldic notices: being utterly ignorant of the science. All he could do has been to copy the MS. notes of Habington, and sometimes compare them with Dr. Nash's printed extracts from them. These latter extracts do not however extend to this church.

In the east window of the south aisle: — “Orate pro animabus *Willielmi Chyryton* * * * *.

In the west window of the south aisle: — Party per chevron Azure and Gules, three cups covered Or. In the same window are the names of *John Washborne* and *Richard Cawie*, benefactors.

On the north wall is a marble monument of Mr. *Thomas Watson*, born in *Evesham*, and a free-holder of that place. He was a considerable benefactor, and died 1561. — This still remains; to which, at different periods, the following monuments have been added.

East end of the north aisle: — Mrs. *Frances Watson*, November 20, 1727, aged eighty. And her cousin, — Mrs. *Thomazine Watson*, December 6, 1737, aged eighty-one.

In the south aisle is a very splendid, but equally tasteless monument of marble, erected to the memory of *John Deacle*, Esq. of whom farther mention will be made. Much cost and labour have here been lavished in vain. Though even the lace-work of the cravat, and the fur on the alderman's robe are *most minutely* worked, yet the effect of the whole is heavy and spiritless to a remarkable degree. — This worthy man, who was an alderman of London, and rose to great wealth from the lowest possible station, gave by will in 1706, the sum of two thousand pounds to endow a free-school at *Bengworth*; for teaching, clothing, and putting out apprentice thirty poor boys. Fifty shillings per annum were reserved out of this donation to purchase bread, on every Sabbath, for twelve of the poorest inhabitants of this parish, who were daily to frequent prayers at the school-house.

On the front of the gallery are many other benefactions specified. Most of these are, as *Bengworth* forms a part of the Borough, the same as were before noticed in All Saints. One or two additional donations, appropriated entirely to this parish, shall be briefly mentioned.

Andrew

Andrew Ordway, by will, gave in 1712 twenty shillings per annum out of a house in *Bengworth* to the poor of that parish; to be distributed by the overseers.

John Martin, by will dated February 28, 1713, gave, out of the rents of a messuage and some lands in *Hampton Parva*, ten pounds per annum to any pious and orthodox minister of the church of England that shall undertake to read prayers, preach, and catechise in the parish church of *Bengworth*. Also three pounds to the poor of the above parish.

Mrs. *Frances Watson*, by will dated September 7, 1727, gave one hundred pounds; of which the interest was to be laid out in bread, and weekly distributed to the poor of *Bengworth*, at the discretion of the minister and church-wardens.

George Gardner gave, by will, fifty pounds; the interest of which was to be distributed among aged persons of this parish who were unable to work.

Mrs. *Thomazine Watson* gave, by will of the date of September 2, 1737, the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds; the interest of which sum was yearly to be distributed in the following manner:—two thirds to the minister of the parish, and the remaining third part to be weekly distributed in bread to such of the poor as shall attend divine service.—This has since been realized in lands and tenements at *Ashton Underhill*, in the county of Gloucester.

The very accurate view which has been inserted of the *tower* will render much farther notice of it superfluous. Its ornaments, as may be seen by the plate, are in a good taste, and uniform in the two fronts. The sides, as having probably been once connected with, or in some measure hidden by adjacent buildings, have, to a certain height, been more neglected. The open-work of the battlements on the top, with their annexed pinnacles, is remarkably light and elegant. The whole height is about one hundred and seventeen feet, on a base of about twenty-two feet square. It was certainly the intent of the architect to have raised this building considerably higher. This is apparent not only from the general form of the tower, rather low in proportion to its breadth, but also from the flying buttresses; which are seldom, as in the present case, carried quite to the summit. The whole

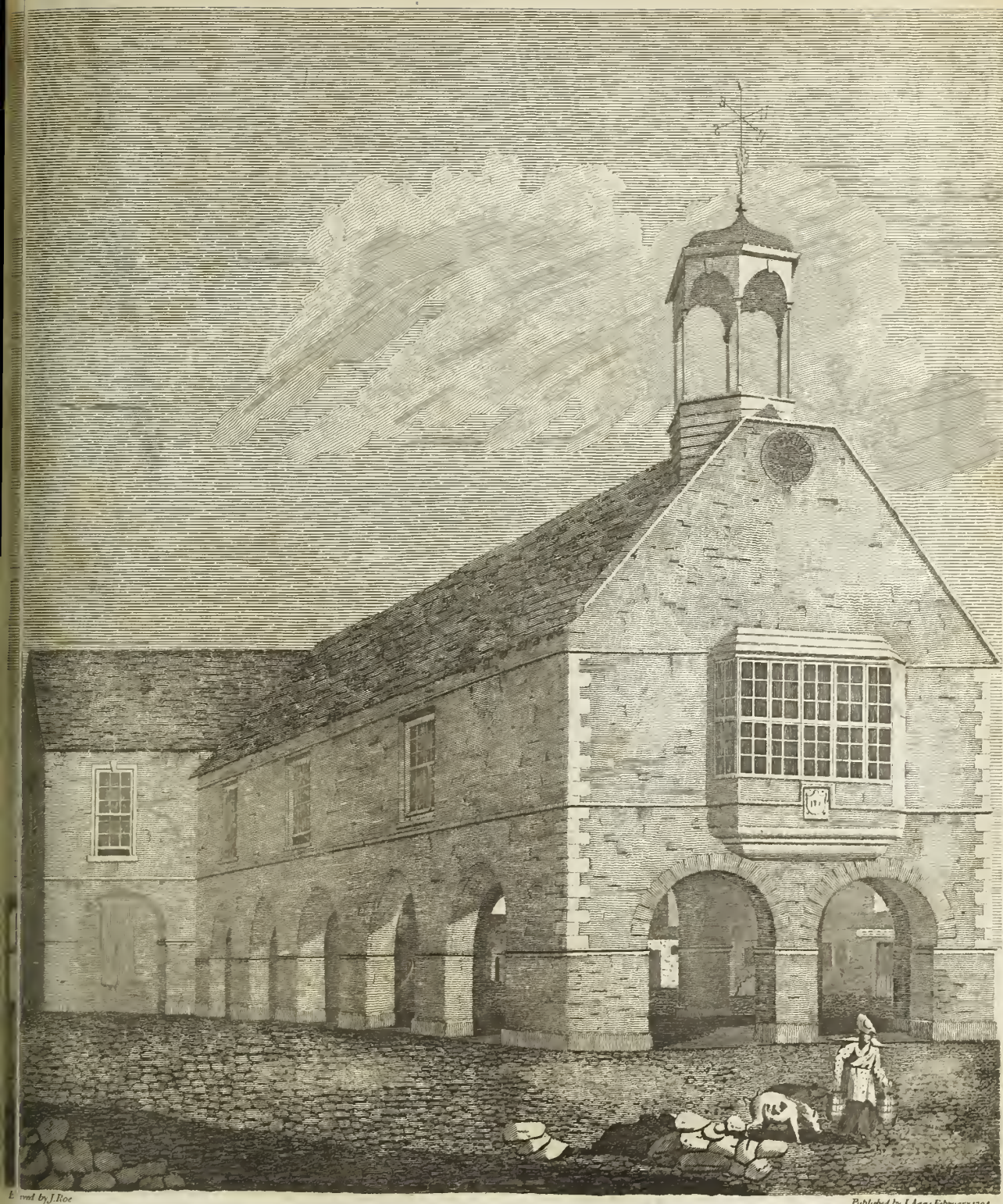
edifice has an appearance as fresh as if erected within the present century: which may, in part, be accounted for by its being much sheltered from the westerly winds and driving rains from that quarter. There is a peal of eight large bells in it; but the biggest of them is too deep, almost by half a tone, for the rest. Both from situation and intrinsic beauty, this edifice is a great ornament to the whole vicinity.*

This tower had, as we are informed by Leland, a very large bell at first set up in it, which is supposed to have continued there till the restoration.† About that period the townsmen who had purchased the tower, joining together, took the bells out of all the steeples, and melted them down into the present peal. There was, prior to this, another bell-tower belonging to the Abbey, but its exact situation cannot now be known. This more ancient tower, as we read in Leland's collections, was repaired in the seventh year of Edward I. and nineteen years afterwards fell entirely down.

The *town-hall*, of which a good representation is also given, is, though spacious and well-built, too plain and unornamented to demand very particular attention. In the apartment above, which is a handsome room, an assembly is held throughout the winter season, and a court of record every Tuesday. All trials, both on civil and criminal causes, are also held here; the privilege for trying the latter of which has not been either openly or tacitly

* I have been informed that this tower was left unfinished at the dissolution; and was not completely covered-in till long after that period. But besides that the ornaments on the top seem perfectly congenial to the rest of the fabric, the circumstance of the *great bell*, recorded by Leland and mentioned above, appears entirely to overthrow this supposition. — The probability is, that a foresight of the impending dissolution hastened its finishing, and thus prevented a farther progress in altitude.

† The date affixed to these bells does not however quite accord with this idea, which is the suggestion of Browne Willis. That of the biggest bell is 1631;—in the mayoralty of Edward Cugley, and the early part of the reign of Charles I. The dates of all the rest are very modern, viz. 1741. They have all mottoes, but not worth the transcribing.



TOWN HALL.

This Plate is humbly dedicated to those Members of the Corporation who have Patronised this Work

tacitly resigned, or even suspended: though the infrequency of its exertion of late years has, with some persons, given rise to this supposition.*

In this Borough are two *free-schools*; one in *Evesham*, the other in *Bengworth*. Of the former but few particulars can be gleaned. We only know that it was endowed originally by *Clement Lichfield*, whose name is engraved over the chief entrance, with some good carved work, and the usual "Orate, &c." We also know that *Eyford*, in the parish of *Slaughter*, in Gloucestershire, was once appropriated to the instruction of the youth of *Evesham*; and probably belonged to this very foundation. At the time the other revenues of the Abbey were seized by Henry VIII. this also was alienated from it. But with the same simulation of justice by which he was willing to screen his avaricious views, when, out of the immense revenues of religious houses, he scantily endowed a few new bishopricks, this school was soon after *very parsimoniously* refounded. We find by the charter it was entirely new-modelled at the period this town was erected into a Borough; and it still is entitled the prince of Wales's school, from *Henry*, son of James I. At present ten pounds per annum are paid to the master by the auditor: but there is a pretty good house, and certain other small emoluments.

The *school* in *Bengworth*, which comes more properly under the class of *charity schools*, was founded by the above-mentioned *John Deacle*, Esq. in the year 1709. In his last will, dated July 24, 1706, a copy of which now lies before me, he first mentions his intention of settling a free-school in *Bengworth*, his native place, for the education of thirty of the *poorest boys* in that parish. If not so many of that description there, the number to be supplied out of *Evesham*. The nomination of these boys in the church-wardens and overseers of *Bengworth*, and in the mayor and capital burgesses of *Evesham*.

I i 2

No

* In speaking on this subject, [p. 212,] I used too strong an expression in saying that the right of trying and executing for capital offences was *transferred* to the county assize. The privilege, I understand, remains in full force, though seldom of late made use of. Some account of the last trial here which was followed by an execution, will be given in the Appendix to this part of the work.

No more than ten boys from *Evesham*, at one time, to be admitted. The age of admission not less than eight, or more than ten. To accomplish this his laudable intention, he directs his executors to disburse the sum of *two hundred pounds* within six months after his decease, in building a convenient school-house; provided the chapel adjoining to *Bengworth* church could not be acquired for that purpose. Moreover, within the space of two years after his decease, to lay out the sum of *two thousand pounds* in the purchase of lands and tenements of the yearly value of *one hundred pounds*, for the endowment of the school; conveying this land, as well as the school-house and ground on which it should be built, to the Draper's company in *London* and their successors, *in trust*. Out of this yearly sum, *twenty pounds* annually were to be paid to the master for teaching to read, write, and cast accounts, and for reading prayers, daily morning and evening, in the school. *Fifty shillings* were to be allotted to the poor of the parish, in a weekly allowance of bread. *Fifty* more to the repairs of the school-house. *Thirty-four pounds* annually to be expended in clothing the boys, in the following manner:—Each a vest of blue kersey woollen cloth, with a petticoat of yellow cloth. One blue cap, now (injudiciously I think,) exchanged for a common hat. Two shirts, two pair of shoes, and two of stockings. *Twenty-five pounds*, annually, were farther allotted to the putting out four of these boys apprentices to some honest trade; recommending two of them to the corporation of *Evesham*, and two others to the care of the Draper's company. *Five pounds*, yearly, to be expended in bibles, catechisms, and other useful books. The residue to be laid aside for taxes and contingencies.

This is certainly a noble and useful charity; and has not, except in some few instances, had the ill fate of being perverted from its original intent, like most other benefactions of the kind. It was, for some time however, considerably neglected: the Draper's company refused to act as trustees, and even the house was not built till several years had elapsed. In consequence of a petition from the principal inhabitants of the place, dated November 13, 1727, to the executors, and by the subsequent care of the ministers of the parish, the state of this excellent charity began much to improve; an exceeding

ceeding good school-house was built; and all proper vigilance used in inspecting the conduct of the persons employed in it.

There are four *meeting-houses*, for as many different persuasions, now in *Evesham*; where the dissenters have increased, and still, it is said, do increase in a greater proportion than a staunch friend to the establishment would wish. It is pity some expedient cannot be devised to render possible an union with such of these sectaries as are more moderate in their opinions, and deviate least in essential doctrines. The good effects of such a coalition must, I suppose, be obvious to all parties. But so great, unhappily, is the perverseness of our common nature, especially in matters of this kind, that no advances could be easily devised by one party, that would not be with scorn rejected by the other:—and thus, as is somewhere observed by Swift, it would be of small use to widen the portal, when so many would obstinately refuse to enter it; and so many more, as if in mere contempt, would over-leap the wall.

With great pleasure would the author dwell, even to tedium and lassitude, in his account of the manufactures, &c. of this place, did any such, in reality, exist. But there is nothing at present that can even be classed under this head, if we except only a large oil-mill erected on the Avon, northward of the town. The uses and structure of this machine are too well known for any description to afford much pleasure or instruction.—A singular event happened however lately at this mill, which may not be quite unworthy notice. It exhibits, in a very striking light, the effect that fanaticism sometimes works on uneducated minds. I have heard (it should not be concealed,) this affair differently accounted for:—but the cause first assigned seems the only one, except insanity, powerful enough to produce so dreadful an effect.

Not long since a man of the lower class entered this mill, and seemed to observe its operations with much curiosity, and silent attention. The large pendent beams that, by repeated strokes on the wedges below, serve to press the oil from the seed, appeared, most of all the machinery, to excite his wonder and approbation. After looking on for some time, he seized a moment

ment when the eyes of the workmen were otherwise engaged, and suddenly drawing a sharp axe from under his clothes, at the instant one of these beams was suspended to strike, he laid his hand across the wedge; and, holding the axe over it, the beam with one blow severed it from his arm, at the wrist. He had, with most astonishing precaution, furnished himself with a dressing for the stump; and, hastening away to a medical person in *Evesham*, desired him to apply it. It was found tolerably well suited to the purpose; but of rather too coarse and clumsy a texture to be willingly employed by the operator.—The arm was dressed with a better apparatus; and the man departed, little daunted by the adventure, but seeming rather to exult in his own courage and perseverance.

Different motives are assigned for the strange resolution this man thus strangely put in execution. One, and that the most probable, is that he had committed some action which, after the commission, did not entirely approve itself to his conscience: and thus wresting a well-known text in scripture from its original intention, and applying it to his own case, he thought he could not make a more suitable atonement than by ridding himself of the *offending member*.—Whatever the cause, the effect was certainly an extraordinary one.—The reader will probably recollect some other narratives (how far *real* it is not easy to determine,) of nearly the same import. *This* however is exactly true in every circumstance. Related to the author by many persons of this town, all agreeing in the main circumstances of the fact, it was afterwards confirmed by the surgeon who dressed the wound; who had every particular from the man himself, excepting only a certain information of the motive by which he was urged to this exploit.

C H A P. VIII.

EMINENT PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN BORN AT, OR HAVE
RESIDED IN, EVESHAM.

HAVING thus conducted the reader through what may be entitled the *modern antiquities* of this place, it will be some satisfaction to remount, for a time, to its real and genuine archæology: in giving some farther account of those abbots, or other monastics, who were eminent either for their munificence, their wisdom, or their virtue. The materials afforded us for this undertaking are, though entirely new to the public, yet often both minute and trifling.* The addition of a cope, a chesable, or embroidered vestment to the Abbey-stock, is sometimes the whole they will furnish. But on such information, when drawn from authentic sources, and noted down by antiquity itself, a true antiquary will fix his eye with satisfaction. Nor will, it is hoped, a common reader regard it without some degree of approbation, when he finds these minute transactions ascribed to characters of distinguished piety and benevolence.

Next after the founder, of whom what scanty particulars antiquity could furnish have already been given, *Ailward*, who was made abbot by Ethelred II. in 1014, was one of the best and most active of these monastic rulers; a great improver of the condition of his convent; and a very learned and virtuous man. By his exertions was the insatiable *Godwin* finally expelled from the monastery, and all its possessions recovered. He was probably a Dane by extraction, being related to Canute the great; and when the latter succeeded to the English throne, was made by him bishop of London. He did

* They are all extracted from one of the Abbey Registers in the Museum, and were reserved for this part of the work as the fittest place for minute history.

did not however desert his convent. At his entreaties, Canute presented the *Evesham* monastery with the valuable relics of St. Wystan, and also with a black chesable of the most costly sort, with all its appending ornaments. *Ailward* himself purchased for his convent the relics of St. Odulfus, which some traders in that commodity were, at that time, carrying to London for sale. These relics which, in the present times, we should find it difficult to dispose of at an equal price with broken glass or rusty iron, even to the manufacturers of hartshorn, were doubtless, in these early periods, valued at an exorbitant rate. The remains of the two saints afterward occupied two magnificent shrines in the Abbey church, and still, in all likelihood, lie buried in its ruins. This abbot however gave what was much better, — many books both of divinity and grammar to his monastery, the names of which are not handed down. He likewise ably vindicated his foundation against the encroachments of the bishop of the diocese, and, as already mentioned in the beginning of this work, first obtained that a monk of this house should be created dean of the whole vale of *Evesham*, with independent jurisdiction over it. *Ailward* died 6 kalends of August, in the year 1044, and was buried at *Ramsay* in Huntingdonshire.

Mannius, or as he is called in the register, *Mamnius*, his successor, was by no means inferior to *Ailward* in essential qualifications, and in personal acquirements was far superior to him. He was skilled in most of the fine arts, if they could then be called so, and, which is singular enough, was the best goldsmith in the kingdom. He began and lived to finish, says the register, a much finer, and more elaborately-constructed church than that which *Evesham* before possessed : but it seems more probable he only completed that which *Oswald* began about one hundred years before. He built a shrine for St. Egwin of gold set with precious stones, of which the same register relates a circumstance I am almost afraid to record, so much does it resemble the fictions of enchantment : — That in this shrine *three jewels* were so placed as to throw a *strong light* over great part of the church. This excellent lapidary also formed shrines for the remains of St. Odulfus, and St. Credan one of the former abbots. He wrote and illuminated with his own hand a missal, and a large psalter ; and performed many other useful and elegant works of the
same

same kind. After some time, falling into a lingering illness, he resigned his charge to the versatile *Egelwin*, who, says the register, appointed two persons of high estimation in the convent, with several inferior servants, to attend his benefactor: frequently himself visiting him with great respect and humble veneration; nor, while *Mannius* was alive, would he be called abbot of *Evesham*, though he acted in all respects as such.

With this *Egelwin*, his *worthy* successor, we have already made some acquaintance, and seen how he contrived to jostle his neighbours out of their possessions. All was however for the good of the church, and the monks fail not to heap on him the highest encomiums. Several other instances are given of this man's dexterity in temporal affairs, which shew that his abilities were extensively employed, and that he often acted both as a kind of counsel, and even as a judge, in matters that did not concern his own convent. His benefactions to the Abbey, (if those can be called such which were probably drawn from its own revenues,) were very considerable. He gave it vestments, of all the various kinds; a large cross; and an altar beautifully inlaid with gold and silver. He also built a very handsome chapel, and dedicated it to St. Nicholas. A large wax-taper was by him appointed to burn all night on the principal festivals. At the time he was made abbot there were only *twelve* monks: this number he enlarged to *thirty-six*; and, by his dextrous management in acquiring new lands and possessions, he was better able to support them all, than his predecessors had been to provide for the former limited number. He died 22 kalends of March, 1077, and is said to have left a large supply of money for building a new church.

His immediate successor *Walter* was the first *Norman* abbot, and a very learned and able man. William the first was by no means deficient in judgment and discrimination of character; and though he took sufficient care to displace all the Saxon prelates as soon as possible, he always provided them successors of great worth and ability. It is indeed the highest compliment to *Egelwin's* good management and skilful trimming, that he preserved his station so long after the conquest. This *Walter*, with the money *Egelwin* had left, built the crypts and the rest of the church, as far as the transept, excepting

the tower; in which last he proceeded no farther than the supporting arches, and the first story. He made a vineyard on the other side of the water. Many books were by him given to the convent. On the other hand the monks complain that both *Walter*, and his successor *Robert*, much enriched their relations and dependants with the spoils of the Abbey. *Walter* died 13 kalends of February, 1086.

Reginald, who became abbot in the year 1122, was a great builder. His predecessor *Mauricius* had just erected what was, at the time the register was written, called the old chapter-house, a dormitory, and a locutory, with a chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, annexed. *Reginald* added to these a strong wall separating the Abbey from the town. Of the former erections even the site is, at present, a desideratum: the latter, in some measure, still exists. He continued *Walter's* labours, and proceeded to build the nave of the great church. The old refectory, another more regular locutory, with a chapel annexed to it, a hall with a chamber over it for the reception of guests, and the great kitchen were part of his labours. He made also the great cross, and built a magnificent roof, or tabernacle, over the shrine of the founder. He gave two thuribles, or censers, and two large candlesticks of silver gilt. He caused to be founded (as was before mentioned,) the two great bells *Benedict*, and his compeer; and the small bells *Gloucester*, and his compeer. But it would be tedious, even to the minuter antiquary, to relate all the benefactions, or, as the monks call them, the *good acts* of this abbot. He died in September, 1149.

Adam, the next abbot excepting one, was at least an equal benefactor; and the good monks have been at least equally minute in their gratitude to him. His first care was to finish the elaborate shrine of St. Egwin; to make an aqueduct, and a lavatory; in the completion of which much money was expended, and several benefactors contributed. He also founded the two biggest bells *Jesus*, and *Gloriosus*; furnished a red cope embroidered with the figures of birds in gold, and a variety of other ecclesiastical ornaments. A new testament, and the old one with a commentary, were among his acquisitions of this kind. He built a large granary, a bake-house, the old infirmary

firmary where now is the abbot's chamber, and a private dormitory. The grange at *Offenham*, several other houses there, together with the fish-pools, the apartment adjacent to the infirmary, and the reading-desk in the chapter-house are all of his performance. He finished the cloister begun by the abbots *Mauritius* and *Reginald*, and completed the nave of the church, by the assistance of the dean of Wells, and other well-disposed persons. The Abbey was by him enriched and beautified by a great number of glass windows, in almost every part. He purchased two hides of land at *Newenham* for one hundred marks, from a person called *de Watteville*. Here the register confirms what was before said of his having made the cup which was, by his successor, paid in ransom of Richard I. But this, as was then observed, could not have been purposely done without the gift of prescience; and therefore was not a circumstance worth recording. This abbot acquired to his office the privilege of wearing all the episcopal ornaments, excepting the ring; and obtained a favourable decree from the pope concerning the independent jurisdiction of the Abbey. He appointed that a large wax-light should burn perpetually before the great altar, and the tombs of the saints. "On this account," (says the old record,) "although the former abbots were very religious and well disposed persons, this abbot is said above all of them to have reformed the order." He died 2 ides of November, 1191.

Roger Norreys, who came next, did nothing, as was formerly observed, but *discompose* the order; but his successor *Randulf*, prior of Worcester, set every thing again to rights. He gave the profits of *Binton* (which I did not, from the information derived from *Habington's* papers, before suppose had continued so long with the Abbey,) to the uses of the infirmary. So many circumstances have been related of this abbot, both in the short sketch already given of his life, and in his paper of institutes, that it will be superfluous to dwell much larger on his actions. Some curious vestments he acquired shall be briefly enumerated. He furnished the church of *Evesham* with three beautiful copes; one of white silk embroidered with gold; a chesable of the same make; another cope of red satin figured with horses of gold and griffins; and a third of green satin with figures of angels bearing censers, of leopards, and golden flowers. He procured also a stole, with a maniple of

purple silk fringed with gold, a dalmatica, and a pall, all interwoven with gold. To these were added a pastoral staff of very rich workmanship. This shewy abbot bought also a very large ring to be worn at mass, a mitre, and another still richer cope of embroidered satin, with the figures of angels bearing censers, and of griffins in gold.—But to this finery there is no end. One more set of vestments alone shall be noticed, which seem to exceed all the rest. He furnished for the chapel of St. Mary a chesable of red satin spotted with golden stars, and two stoles, with maniples of golden fringe and silver bells appending to it; one of which is in the chapel of the blessed Mary, and the other kept in the treasury. Of table furniture, this abbot provided for the refectory a magnificent silver cup, and another *de mazere*;* together with many silver spoons, and other utensils. He bought also a receptacle for the eucharist; two large silk cushions; and made three abbot's seats. He dug a fish-pool at *Ombresleye*, another at *Honeyborne*, and built a mill thereon, and a dove-house on its side. The three mills of *Offenham*, *Hampton*, and *Wikewane* were made by him; as also the fish-pool of *Bradewell*, with its mill. At *Evesham*, the second and third fish-pool were his work: for the first is of very ancient date. He built the manor-house of *Ombresleye*, with its dove-cote, and the house of *Honeyborne*. The granges of *Willarsfeye*, of *Aldynton*, of *Wykewane*, of *Evesham*, and of *Lenchwyk*, were much improved by this abbot. After building six mills on the manors belonging to the abbots, instead of their tithes, he granted to the almoner the whole profits of that at *Aldynton*, which he had purchased himself.—More of this minute history is retailed to us in the register; but this will probably suffice for the greater part of readers. This abbot died 16 kalends of January, 1229.

With his successor the active *Thomas de Marleburg*, and his labours, we are already well acquainted; though several particulars are recorded of him in this register which the paper, before inserted, does not contain. None of these are however remarkable enough to merit a place here.

Of *Richard le Gras* little is mentioned, but that he procured for the *Evesham* church a cope of Saracen work, called by the odd name of *Cautelcope*; that the

* This term frequently occurs; but I do not understand it.

a Arabian. Board for rustic work
probably Saracen work. — a Saracene

the great church was dedicated in his time, A. D. 1239; and that he was much employed in negotiations and embassies by Henry the third. He died 5 ides of December, 1240.

The next abbot, *Thomas de Glouuer*, was not deficient in the purchase of copes, &c; all which are in the register minutely described as above. His successor *Henry* appears to have undertaken a much better task:—to get rid of a troublesome debt the convent had incurred; partly, no doubt, through the extravagance of former abbots in the purchase of these very ornaments. He bought many farms, and applied their profits to useful purposes; assigning all the offerings made to the holy cross at *Evesham* to the support and reparation of the church. A curious deed concerning an assignment of the same kind may be found in a former part of this work.* Fifty shillings per annum were set apart by this man, out of an estate he had bought of one *Radulf de Bretforton*, to the support of a chaplain, to pray daily for pardon of the convent's negligences in celebrating divine service. Of this deed the title only is inserted in the Abbey appendix; but the purport of it might induce one to suppose the turbulence of the times had begun to affect the discipline of the convent, which suffered a total interruption by the subsequent events. This abbot gave many vestments, of which I will give a short specimen. He furnished three copes, one of red silk, worked by hand with white doves and lilies of gold, and another made of *Baudekin*, with golden scallops and lily-flowers of red silk. A third of red satin, which the chaplains of the abbot use when he himself is dressed for the altar. He acquired moreover two chesables; one of red silk, also worked by hand with white doves in the hinder part, and another of white *Baudekin*, with birds of gold, having their beaks of violet-coloured silk.—There is more of this in the register, but with so little variety, that it may be omitted without much loss to the reader. *Henry* died in November, 1263.

In the following year happened the battle of *Lewes*, quickly succeeded by that of *Evesham*. This latter event seems to have disjoined every thing in this Abbey, which remained without a ruler for about three years.—Leaving
therefore

therefore these abbots for a time, let us advert to several of the monks who lived about this period, and were very eminent for useful science, or skill in the fine arts.

The first, in order of time, is *Walter Odington*, a monk of *Evesham*, who was very remarkable for his profound knowledge in music, astronomy, and mathematics in general, in the early part of the thirteenth century. Stevens, in his Supplement, has very absurdly disunited the two names of this man, and speaks of *Walter* and *Odington* as two distinct persons, both however monks of this house. We may safely reunite these two factitious personages, and apply what he says of both to this monk alone. — “*Walter* monk of *Evesham*, a man of a facetious wit, who applying himself to literature, lest he should sink under the labours of the day, the watching at night, and continual observance of regular discipline, used at spare hours to divert himself with the decent and commendable diversion of music, to render himself the more cheerful for other duties. Whether this application to music drew him off from other studies I know not, but there appears no other work of his than a piece entitled — *Of the Speculation of Music*.” — Farther on, speaking of *Odington*, as of another person, he informs us that “he was famous in his time for philosophy and mathematics, and is said to have written — *Of the Motion of the Planets*, and — *Of the Changes in the Atmosphere*.”*

The above apology for *Walter's* application to music is (as a late elegant writer

* Fuller, in his *Worthies*, has an odd flight concerning this ingenious monk. — “*Walter* of *Evesham* was born thereabouts, and bred therein a Benedictine monk. His harmonious mind expressed itself in its love of music, wherein he attained to great eminency, and wrote a learned book in that faculty. But here bilious Bale [cent. 18. num. 100.] lets fly without fear, (though not without some wit,) inveighing against all music in churches, pretending to produce a pair-royal of fathers for his opinion, viz. St. Jerome calling such chanting, *theatrales modulos*; Gregory terming it *consuetudinem reprehensibilem*, and Athanasius flatly forbidding it the church for the vanity thereof. But by Bale's leave, such speak not against the decent ornament of wives, who reprove the garish attire of harlots; the abuse, not the use, of music being taxed by the fathers aforesaid. Our *Walter* flourished anno 1240.”

writer* on the art justly observes,) “ entirely needless ; for music was, and still is, so much the business of a Romish priest, that to be ignorant of it disqualifies him for his profession.” This indefatigable, as well as elegant historian, took the trouble minutely to examine the MS. production on music of this *Walter*, which still subsists in Bennet Library, at Cambridge. It will perhaps be some gratification to a *musical* reader if I follow this writer through his researches concerning this old production ; — confident that a lover of humanity will pardon an author who steals a few hours from unpleasing reflections on the turbulent degeneracy of the age in which we live, and dedicates them to an art that breathes only tranquility and benevolence.

The title of this MS. is—*Walterus Monachus Eveshamiæ de Speculatione Musicae*. The first page, only, has been injured by time, and some vacuities have been left by the scribe, which seem intended to have been filled up with red ink. The work is divided into six books.

The first contains ten chapters, on the division of the scale, and harmonical proportions.

The second part consists of eighteen chapters. The first of these is an eulogium on music, in which he descants on the nine Muses and their attributes ; speaks of David’s power over the spirit of Saul, by means of his harp ; quotes *Clemens Alexandrinus*, but not in Greek ; and after giving the invention of instruments to *Tubal*, relates the manner in which *Pythagoras* discovered harmonical proportions by the weights of a blacksmith’s hammers. Speaks of major and minor semitones, and of the *Comma*. He has a long chapter on the proportions of the major and minor thirds : here he takes occasion to describe the different kinds of human voices, from the shrill cries of the infant to the deep and dying groans of an old man ; but mentions not those of the *castrati*. Accounts for the thirds having been regarded as discords by the ancients who adhered to the proportions of *Pythagoras* ; and says, that to
please

* Dr. Burney in his general History of Music ; [vol. 2. p. 156.] whose words are chiefly made use of in the following account of Odington’s MS.

please in harmony they must necessarily be altered, or, as it was afterwards called, *tempered*. In his seventeenth chapter he gives a list of the less perfect *double sounds*, or the concordant *discords*; and these he says are fix: the major and minor third; the major sixth; the two tenths, or octaves of the thirds; and the diapason and diatessaron, or eleventh.

The third part is chiefly speculative, and confined to harmonics: forming the scale, and dividing the monochord by numbers, and giving rules for the proportions of organ pipes, and the casting of bells. His chapter *De Organis componendi* is manifestly designed for the proportions of pipes in the instrument called an organ,* not the *organum*, or second voice part in discant, of which he treats separately in his last book. This, and his chapter *De Cymbalis faciendis*, or casting of bells, are curious, and the first instructions of the kind that have been met with in the manuscripts of the middle ages. The last chapter of this book is *De Tropis*, by which he means the ecclesiastical modes, which he gives with their Greek names, in a literal notation.

The fourth part concerns poetical feet and rhythms more than music.

After this the MS. is continued in a different and more difficult handwriting, in which the abbreviations are utterly unlike the former part. Much practice in this way had however enabled the historian to proceed in his examination, which he thus continues:

Part the fifth contains eighteen chapters, which are in general very curious and uncommon. In one of them entitled *De Signis Vocum*, he gives us an account of the characters used in noting down the chanting, or plain-song, in his own times, which are totally different from those which occur in any other author. This notation does not express merely the elevation or depression of a single sound, but entire intervals or short passages, and even the

* *Walter* also gives us, in this work, some account of the first introduction of the organ into Europe. He says that "in the year 757 an instrument of this kind was first of all sent into France, to king *Pepin*, by the Greek emperor."

the inflexions of the voice, in almost every species of interval, by a single character. The terms he uses are — *Punctum*, for a single note; *Bispunctum*, for two notes descending; *Tripunctum*, for three; *Biconpunctis*, for five ascending regularly, and again descending; and so on, in a way that cannot easily be understood without reference to the MS. or this historian's full and clear account of it. He speaks afterwards of that kind of notation, the invention of which is attributed to Guido, but without mentioning that author. — The rest of the book is employed in describing different sorts of ecclesiastical chants, and in giving rules for composing them. Of these he gives some specimens which appear more florid than are usually found in missals of the same period. "This" (adds the historian,) "seems the most complete description and notation of the ecclesiastical chant that I have found in any author of equal antiquity."

In the sixth, and last part, he treats of the *Cantus Mensurabilis*, or measured-song; which, says this author, will fill up a chasm in the history of that important part of music, which has been left void by all other treatises I have been able to consult. Here he gives rules for *organizing*, or music in parts; and for the composition of *figurative* music, — meaning, I apprehend, its *measured* notation. The chapters are on the following subjects: *De Longis, Brevibus, et Semibrevibus; De Plicis; Quot modis Longa perfecta et imperfecta dicitur; De Pausis; De Ligaturis*, &c. Of all which, as well as their combinations in *Measured Music*, he speaks in a very ample and satisfactory manner.

In one of the chapters of this last part, which treats of the perfect and imperfect modes, and their mutations, he compares musical *Times* to poetical *Feet*, in a more full, clear, and ingenious manner, than has been done since by any other writer.

The author declares in his last chapter, that he has nothing to fear from the severity of fastidious critics; as his intention was not so much to invent rules of his own, as to collect the precepts and opinions of his predecessors. However, he seems to have been the first that suggested a shorter note than the semibreve, though he did not give it a form: for in the first chapter of

the last book, we have the following passage :—“ I, first of all, have divided the semibreve into three parts, which I call minims, still retaining the figure of the semibreve, lest I should seem to depart from the doctrine of others.” —The text is much abbreviated here, and difficult to decipher ; however, he certainly speaks of smaller portions of time than the semibreve ; of which, no mention being made of them in other tracts, he seems to have been the inventor.

The musical examples in this tract are (as we understand from its able inspector,) very incorrect, and frequently inexplicable ; owing to the ignorance of music in transcribers. But if this MS. were corrected, and such of the examples as are recoverable, regulated and restored, it would be the most ample, satisfactory, and valuable, which the middle ages can boast. Here the curious enquirer into the state of music at this early period may discover not only what progress our countrymen had made in the art themselves, but the chief part of what was known elsewhere.

I have not been able to acquire any biographic information concerning this monk ; not even the date of his admission into the monastery, or of his death. But his musical treatise has been so much extolled by the excellent judge I have just cited,—is of so early a date, and withal so scarce and inaccessible,—that it seemed incumbent on an historian of this Abbey to allow it more consideration than is usual in works of the present kind.

About the same period, or rather later, there were two other monks of this foundation in considerable estimation for science. *Hugh de Evesham* was either a native, or monk of this place, probably both ; and was accounted the first physician of his age. A dispute arising at *Rome* concerning some medical question, he was sent for by pope Martin IV. who was so well satisfied with his skill as to create him a cardinal, in the year 1280. The Italians however envied him his preferment ; and are said to have poisoned him, about 1287. He was buried at *Rome*. In the early part of his life he had passed through the preferments of archdeacon of Worcester, rector of *Spofford* in Yorkshire, prebend of *York*, and proctor for the archbishop of *York*, at
Rome.

Rome. Some medical and theological MSS. of his are, according to Leland, still extant in the Bodleian Library, at *Oxford*.

Elias de Evesham, who flourished about the same time, was eminent as a biographer and historian. He was of good family, and expected an ample patrimony: but either through some disappointment in his expectations, or perhaps merely a love of study and retirement, he became a monk of this foundation. He wrote a chronicle, and the life of *Becket*; which latter work Leland affirms that he met with in Whitby-abbey. A person of the same name, and probably this very monk, is known to have been presented, in the eighteenth year of king John, to a prebend of *Hereford*.

Two other monks are mentioned by historians as of some eminence, considerably after this period: but few particulars of them are handed down to us. One of them is by *Hearne* supposed to have written the Life of Richard II. which that antiquary found among the Cotton MSS. and published in the year 1729. The other, whose name is known to have been *Joseph*, wrote a collection of letters; two insipid ones of which collection *Hearne* published at the end of the biographic work above-mentioned.

By the author of the *Speculum Anglorum*, which seems little more than an abridgement of *Fuller*, another monk of this house is mentioned, whose name appears to have been *John Cumin*. This man became first archbishop of *Dublin*, and was, by one of the popes, afterwards made a cardinal. No dates or farther particulars are given; nor is any instance of his eminence in science or literature pointed out.

It is now time to return once more to our abbots. — The register seems to expand as it proceeds into more modern periods; and, beside throwing new light on the difficult subject of the revenue, details many other curious particulars. — *William de Wytechyrche* was, in the autumn of 1266, made abbot by the legate *Ottoboni*. This man seems to have added much to the income of the Abbey. He acquired a considerable estate at *Dereford*, together with the advowson of the church there, and assigned it to the almshouse; with however

a reservation for the expences of his own *anniversary*, in which these dignitaries seem now to become very ostentatious. He purchased many rents in *Evesham*, *Bengeworth*, *Baddeby*, and *Ombresleye*; from which also he set apart twenty shillings annually, for the same purpose. He bought moreover the manor of *Bengeworth* of *William Beauchamp, earl of Warwick*, with all its appendages. Many charters of confirmation drawn up by this abbot may be found in the register; among which is one assigning a newly acquired rent of seventy shillings per annum to the maintenance of an immense wax-light, which was to burn in waste before the shrines of the saints; and a lamp of equal magnitude, to be fixed before the cross on the pulpit of the great church. — He did not neglect to add to its finery. — A cope of purple satin, with vine-branches worked in gold; a chesable of white silk; and two new tunicks of white cloth added new splendor to the former pomp of these monastic peacocks. He died 3 nones of August, 1272.

So much is said, in this record, of the four succeeding abbots, that I must be careful to confine my extracts within reasonable limits. *John de Brokehampton*, the next abbot, acquired by purchase, or other means, the manor of *Seynesbury*, then worth thirty pounds per annum, with the advowson of the church. The manor of *Ollebarwe*, worth twenty pounds, with that advowson. The fee (a knight's-fee, as appears by other accounts,) of *Aston*; and many new rents, with some farms at *Evesham*. In the manor of *Baddeby* and *Newenham*, no less than seventy-eight shillings advance was made in the rents. Thirty-five, together with the acquisition of a windmill,* at *Honeyborn*. Twenty-four, with another windmill, at *Willarsley*. Farther purchases were made at *Bengeworth*, *Norton*, the *Littletons*, *Hampton*, *Hudicote*, *Donynton*, *Baddeseye*, *Boroughton*, [*Burton*,] and *Twysford*. New vestments were also procured. A red cope, which once belonged to *William de Bosco*; another of white satin; six chesables, one of violet-coloured silk; another of the same colour, with a representation of the crucifixion on its back part; a third of
a violet-

* This is the first mention of this kind of machine that occurs in the old records. No such things are now to be seen in this country: their place being better supplied by a great number of water-mills.

a violet-colour, lined with red fatin; a fourth of white fatin, worked with leaves and flowers; a fifth of the same materials; and a sixth of violet-coloured silk, lined with red fatin, the same which is now kept in the chapel of the lord-abbot, were all acquired by this man. Two tunicks, with the same number of dalmaticas of violet-coloured fatin; and seven albs, were also added to our wardrobe.—The same abbot built the abbot's hall, with a chamber and a chapel; a kitchen with a larder adjoining; two new chambers in the western part of the Abbey, with a large stable; eight sumptuous granges, on so many manors; an apartment at *Honyborn*, with a chapel; the chancel of the church there; the chancels at *Willarsfeye* and *Hampton*; the church at *Norton*; two new apartments at *Offenham*; and lastly all the buildings on the manor of *Willarsfeye*, excepting only the great stables there.—Some things which follow in the record *cannot* easily be deciphered; and surely from what *can*, we may be allowed to judge that in those times the art of writing history consisted merely in detailing such events, as no one would willingly read. But the authenticity of these old fragments of antiquity, as well as the difficulty of reading, or procuring copies of them, will be my best and only apology for continuing them, to the utter indifference perhaps of nine tenths of my readers.—This abbot died, in a good old age, on the 15 kalends of September, 1316.

William de Chyryton succeeded both to his office, and to his diligence in encreasing this Abbey's revenues. The manors of *Tatlynton* and *Witheleye* were now added to them. Farms, lands of various kinds, and tenements were acquired in *Derlyngescote*, *Kyngeley*, *Baddefeye*, *Evesham*, the *Littletons*, *Honyham*, *Wikewonford*, (so it is called in the register,) *Bretforton*, *Kynewarton*, *Ollebarwe*, and *Bengeworth*, to a great amount. The advowsons of the churches of *Leylond*, *Ombresfeye*, and *Baddeby*, were also procured by this abbot.—Many of the minuter regulations he made in his convent I shall pass over; but some that relate to the buildings of this Abbey, all now so completely levelled with the earth, should be mentioned.—He granted, for the use of the *Hofstilarius*, the old apartment near the abbot's hall, to be fitted up for the accommodation of guests of any religious order. He built that most stately gate of the Abbey, with its chapels and apartments, all very handsomely embattled

on

on the top. From this gate as far as to the Avon, he fortified the Abbey on that side with a stone wall. He also made the two contiguous gates toward the gardens, with a very pleasantly situated chamber over them. Many of the granges were repaired or rebuilt by him. — Nor did he neglect the *finery*. — He procured a chesable, and two tunicks of violet-coloured silk, with lily-flowers and crosses interwoven. Also a very good alb, of that kind of work which is called *Whippedwork*. — This is very curious: but I must appeal to my female readers, if any such, and request a note on this passage. — He lastly furnished a green alb, woven with golden stars. After this he could do no better than quit the stage, full of years and glory; which he did in December, 1344.

William de Boys, the next abbot, is honoured with a very *jovial* character by the old register. “He was” (it affirms) “a very honourable, affable, pleasant, convivial man; one who, by his hospitality, and the liberality of his presents, which he knew how to apply at proper conjunctures, was much esteemed, and procured a number of friends.” — The account of his ornamental acquisitions is very obscure; in great measure, I suppose, from the difficulty of reading the MS. it is taken from. — He furnished the convent with a good mitre, a pastoral staff, several rings, * * * * a rochet, a dalmatica, some sandals, *et uno libro Pontific*. He acquired a good cope of red velvet, with figures standing under worked tabernacles, and boughs of trees, in gold. Also a white cope, embroidered with the figures of griffins, and of flowers. Two embroidered albs. A chesable, dalmatica, and tunick, likewise embroidered in various patterns. He caused to be woven a very curious piece of tapestry, with the figures of mitres, for the abbot’s seat by the altar. He founded the two great bells *Maria* and *Egwin*; which bells the venerable father, the archbishop of Nazareth, *anointed with the holy crism*. — This abbot made an addition to the *burfar*’s revenue of seven pounds eleven shillings and three-pence, in good and lawful money, (says the record,) out of lands and tenements in *Norton*, *Neubold*, *Baddefeye*, *Honyborn*, and *Kyne-warton*. Also of fifty shillings annually, for the salmon supplied from *Pen-wortham*. He ordained moreover that the *burfar* should distribute to each monk, who should be in a course of *blood-letting*, certain sums, as is more fully

fully specified in the charter.—This charter has been already inserted:* but whether this *blood-letting* was merely on the score of health, or in course of penance, it is not easy to determine. A circumstance that next occurs, viz. an allowance for the recreation of the monks, during these *bleedings*, seems to indicate the former to have been the truth. Many other additions to the offices are mentioned, among which is a curious piece of information. The small loaves allowed daily to the monks, who were performing penance, were, by them, nick-named *trey-quatre*: a term I must leave to profounder antiquaries; unless we may suppose that these loaves were each *three-quarters of a pound* in weight. Some other regulations which this abbot made are next noticed; but of all these the original deeds or charters have already been inserted, in full.† The additions made by this man to the revenue, though chiefly in scattered parcels of land, &c. are altogether immense, and occupied, in my copy of the register, three very close written pages. To insert the whole would be both tedious and unnecessary. This abbot died 8 ides of June, 1367.

John de Ombresleye, who succeeded, is much celebrated by this register; which, contrary to its usual custom, grows quite eloquent in his praise. It was probably composed during his abbacy. New acquirements were now made at *Ombresleye*, *Kyngeley*, *Evesham*, and *Bengworth*. The manor of *Enford* was added to the Abbey-possession.—Concerning his *buildings* it will be proper to be more particular. He built at *Ombresleye*, a hall, with a chamber on the eastern side; another on the north side; a stable out of the gate; and a lesser grange in the outer court. He also built, at *Offenham*, the outer gate there, with an apartment over it, and a stable contiguous to it. At *North Lytleton*, he erected a very large tythe-barn. At *Evesham*, in the *Barton*, he built a large dove-house.—He furnished the convent with a most costly pastoral staff; a processional cross of silver, with a portable staff for it, of the same materials; a large censor; a lesser one, for the hand; two gilded vessels for the chrism, with spoons of the same; a pair of silver basons for the lavatory, near the altar; two pair of silver phials; two large silver candlesticks;

* Page 111.

† See pages 108, 192, and 194.

sticks; a scallop for the salt; an *osculatory of peace*; a pretty large bell, of silver gilt, for the chapel; and lastly a vase for holy water, with a gold sprinkler. But this is not all. — He procured, from the executors of *William* late bishop of *Worcester*, a set of vestments of cloth of gold, viz. a chesable; a dalmatica; three tunicks; a large cope, and a smaller for the chaplain; two more for the two chanters of the service; an episcopal throne with its canopy; and two altar-cloths, of different value. To crown the whole: — a set of vestments of blue velvet, (called in the register, *Blew Velewecto*,) of most costly work: being embroidered with gold, and set with pearls, and precious stones. He also bought a great number of jewels to adorn a mitre. He moreover provided, for the abbot's table, six silver *chagers*; twenty-four silver dishes; as many salt-sellars; two large silver dishes, to hold the provision given away in alms; two very large salt-sellars; and twenty-four silver spoons.

Thus ends this inventory of the abbot's plate, and other valuables; which will, at least, serve to exemplify, in some degree, the riches of this stately foundation. Here also ends the register I have hitherto copied, leaving a chasm in the MS. of several blank pages, that evidently shew it was to have been continued. — We now must descend rather abruptly into modern dates, and give some particulars of celebrated or useful characters, by many generations nearer our own times.

John Feckenham was born of obscure parents, of the name of *Homan*, or *Howman*, who lived in the forest of *Feckenham*. From the place of his birth he afterward, as was then customary, derived his name. He is said very early in life to have distinguished himself by talent, and acuteness of understanding. The monks of *Evesham*, who had some privileges in that part of the county, and, like the jesuits in more modern times, wherever they discovered uncommon sagacity were willing to appropriate it to themselves and the defence of the church, perceived the forward parts of the young *Howman*; took him to their monastery; and gave him as good an education as the age could afford. When eighteen years of age, they sent him to finish it at Gloucester-hall in *Oxford*, at that time a sort of nursery of learning for
the

the Benedictines. There he distinguished himself much by his talent, and remained till he was recalled to his monastery, and employed in the instruction of the juniors of the order. When the Abbey was surrendered to the king's commissioners, on November 17, 1537, *Feckenham* was obliged to change his situation, with the rest; and had a pension of one hundred florins settled upon him. After a short interval, the love of learning once more allured him to *Oxford*, and he resumed his studies in Gloucester-hall. Soon after he was made secretary to Dr. *John Bell*, then bishop of *Worcester*, from whom he obtained a benefice somewhere in this county. He became afterward chaplain to the sanguinary bishop *Bonner*, with whom he remained till the year 1542, when both the bishop and his chaplain were shut up; the one in the Marshalsea, and the other in the Tower. Here they continued during the greater part of the reign of Edward VI. but some vehement partisans of popery (among whom a Mr. *Philip Hoby** is named,) then supposing that *Feckenham's* talents might be of service to their cause, procured his enlargement, merely for that purpose. Several conferences, or rather set disputations, were, about this time, held by the champions of both persuasions. One of these religious cockpits was at the Savoy; another at Sir *William Cecil's*; and a third at Sir *John Cheke's*: but the most remarkable dispute happened at *Pershore*; where *Feckenham's* opponent was *Hooper*, then bishop of *Gloucester*. On queen Mary's accession, his party once more triumphed for a short time; and he was made one of her chaplains, and dean of St. Paul's. A feeble and short-lived attempt was now begun to restore the monastic institutions. *Feckenham*, with about sixteen other Benedictines whom he had collected together from various situations, took possession of Westminster-abbey, of which he was for some time the titular abbot. But, with all his bigotry for a religion in which he had been born and educated, and to which therefore his propensity scarcely deserves that harsh appellation, *Feckenham* was naturally good and benevolent. He did many kind and useful offices in behalf of the poor protestants, who were at this time under persecution. He is said to have interposed in favour of the princess *Elizabeth*, and had the influence to protect other persons of that party; among whom were the earl of *Leicester*, and Sir *John Cheke*. *Elizabeth* was not afterwards unmindful of this benefit; but, on her accession to the crown, had much private conversation with

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Feckenham,

* Stevens's Supplement. [P. 289.]

Feckenham, and endeavoured, by abundant persuasions and promises,* to allure him to conform to the establishment. Finding him obstinate, she thought herself obliged to imprison him in the Tower. After remaining there some time he was removed, and placed under the custody of *Horn*, bishop of *Winchester*: doubtless with some hope that able and zealous reformer would have been able to shake his resolution. Here he remained all the winter, and, like an unfortunate bull-finch under tuition, heard nothing but the *lawfulness of the oath of supremacy* perpetually rung in his ears. It had but little effect upon him. *Feckenham* delivered his reasons for refusing to take this oath, in writing. The bishop replied: and an English divine then in a foreign university, Dr. *Stapleton* of *Louvain*, made up the trio. After this useless experiment upon the resolute *Feckenham*, he was remanded to the Tower, and from thence to the Marshalsea prison. He was however, all this time, treated with a tenderneſs that does much credit to both parties. The air of the Marshalsea not agreeing with him, he was allowed a private lodging in Holborn. In 1580, he was confined in *Wisbech* castle, where he died five years after.—Camden, in his annals of queen Elizabeth, gives the following short and candid character of him: —“ he was a learned and good man; who in the course of a long life, by his many public acts of charity to the poor, procured himself universal esteem.” *Feckenham* left many books behind him, of which the following list has been collected by Dr. *Nash*:

A conference with lady *Jane Dudley*. 8vo. 1544.

A speech in the House of Lords. 1553.

Two homilies on the Creed. 4to.

A funeral oration for the duchess of Parma.

A sermon at the exequies of *Joan* queen of Spain. 8vo. 1555.

A declaration of his scruples concerning the oath of supremacy. 1566.

Objections to Mr. *John Goughe's* sermon preached in the Tower, Jan. 15, 1570.

A treatise with the odd title of *Caveat Emptor*.

a treatise

* It is said she offered him the see of *Canterbury*.

A treatise of the Eucharist against *Hooper*. MS.

Commentaries on the Psalms of David. MS.

A funeral sermon for queen *Mary*. MS.

Speech in parliament against the alteration of religion. 1559.

A letter to *Cecil*. 1564.

Confession in *Wisbech* castle. 1580.

Conference with bishop *Ridley*, in the Tower.

Among these productions, his conference with lady *Jane Dudley*, four days before her execution, is said to be excellent in its kind. Some few other particulars of him have been collected from various writers. — He was presented to the livings of *Finchley* and *Grenewald*, in 1554, and afterwards to the prebend of *Kentish-town*. While abbot of Westminster, he repaired the shrine of Edward the Confessor, as it now remains. In Elizabeth's reign, he was the only monk abbot that was admitted into parliament; where he very ably and strenuously defended his mistaken principles. He built a stone cross at *Wisbech*, the last place of his confinement. — By many it is reported, that he was buried in All Saints church at *Evesham*: and there was an inscription in Habington's time that seemed, though faintly, to favour the supposition.*

William Sandys, Esq. the second son of Sir *William Sandys* of *Fladbury* near *Evesham*, a very useful and public-spirited character, was the man who first rendered the river Avon navigable. Though he was not born at *Evesham*, or ever, that I have heard, resided there, he thus became so nearly connected with that place and its concerns, as well to merit particular notice. An account of this extraordinary undertaking (for such it was for any individual) was written, as is said, by Mrs. *Ellob*, in the year 1737, and by her communicated to Mr. *George Baker*, of *Campden*, in Gloucestershire. It has long been handed about in MS. and of late communicated to the public by Dr. *Nash*.

“ Mr. *William Sandys*, son of Sir *William Sandys*, of *Misserden*, in the county
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* See page 225.

Gloucester, descended from a family of that name in Lancashire, and by a female line from *Leybourne*, of that county, a name anciently derived from a baron, sometimes a lord in parliament, and in our age linked by matches to nobility. He was not only worthy for his birth, but also in his attempt and performance thereof raised above himself to his country's wonder. *Evesham*, the principal town, imparteth the name of the vale, through which runneth Avon, the subject of this work; which river arising in Northamptonshire, runneth through Warwickshire into the farther parts of Worcestershire, and so into Gloucestershire, and increasing with other streams that fall into it, (to omit places of lesser note,) it passeth by *Warwick*, *Stratford*, *Bidford*, *Evesham*, *Pershore*, and near *Tewkesbury* dischargeth itself into Severn. This Avon never bore a boat of any burden before industrious Mr. Sandys beginning his unexpected design in March, 1635, in three years made it passable for vessels to carry forty or fifty ton from the mouth thereof, where it entereth Severn at *Tewkesbury*, to *Stratford*, being about twenty-four miles by land; but near fifty by water, through foul and low bottoms, and especially through the deep vale of *Evesham*: purchasing with excessive charge, mills, meadow-ground, and other lands, cutting in some places a course through the firm land for this water-work, besides the old main-channel: and for the accomplishing hereof he hath made sluices at *Tewkesbury*, in the county of Gloucester; *Strensham*, *Nafford*, *Pershore*, *Piddle*, *Fladbury*, *Chadbury*, *Evesham*, *Harvington*, *Clive-Prior*, all in the county of Worcester; *Bidford* in the county of Warwick, *Welford* in the county of Gloucester, and *Stratford* in com. Warwick: and so wrought by his sluices keeping up the water, that in summer time vessels of great burthen go to *Stratford*, when others for lack of water in Severn, cannot reach *Worcester*. He erected also weirs in the quickest streams. Nor did Mr. Sandys intend to finish his work at *Stratford*, but had thoughts to extend the same to *Warwick*; but what hindered his accomplishing his design, I know not: and for the expence he hath hereupon bestowed, it cannot be reckoned less than twenty thousand pounds. The benefits which arose to this country by this extraordinary performance, were very many: but I will only add this one; that the vale of *Evesham* heretofore laboured under extreme want of firing, and so was forced in these exceeding foul ways to fetch coals from far remote places, but now by Mr. Sandys industry

dustry and labour, it is so contrived, that many of them have coals delivered at their doors, and others somewhat farther off have easy access to them. But now to end with Mr. *Sandys*, as soon as he had finished his work to *Stratford*, (and as I have heard spent all his fortune;) he immediately delivered up all to the parliament to do what more they thought fit herein. And thus much to the honour of worthy Mr. *Sandys*, the founder and completer of this work.”*

There are some few particulars in the above paper that are not quite correctly stated. From the best authority I have learned, that the navigation of this river was, by its original projector, carried no higher up than *Evesham*. That afterwards it was, by lord *Windsor*, through many difficulties and much litigation, extended to *Stratford*. These impediments chiefly arose from the proprietors of land, in which improvements were to be made. At length, an act was procured so indefinitely worded† as to give rise to fresh litigations, which did not end till after much vexation and heavy expences.—Several improvements with respect to locks, &c. have since taken place: but the navigation has not been farther extended, or undergone any improvement so material as to demand much attention.—Neither are there any further incidents recorded concerning the worthy and truly patriotic *Sandys*.

Lewis Bayly, a native of Wales, and fellow of Jesus-College in *Oxford*, became minister of *Evesham* about the year 1611; but the exact date of his presentment to it is not known. In 1613, he took the degree of doctor of divinity at the university, and, being eminent as a preacher, he was successively made chaplain to prince *Henry*, rector of St. Matthews, Friday-street, *London*,

* Though the above paper gives a very satisfactory account of the origin and progress of this wonderful undertaking, it seems strangely antiquated for the time at which it is supposed to have been written. One might imagine the good lady, to whom it is attributed, was willing, by an affectation of conforming to the *Saxon* phrase and termination, to cast a veil of antiquity over her writings; did not the preface to her grammar, which is rather an elegant production in the modern style, evince that this was not her usual practice. It is reasonable therefore to conclude it was merely transcribed and brought to light by this lady, from much older papers.

† Lord Windsor, as I have been informed, required this act should be so worded, as to appropriate to himself the *whole* merit of this undertaking.

London, and lastly one of the chaplains to James the first. The see of *Bangor* becoming vacant in 1616, he was elected to it. He wrote a book some years ago in high esteem, but now, I fear, but little read, entitled, *The Practice of Piety*. He died October 6, 1631, and was buried at *Bangor*.

The next person of whom some notice should be taken, was one of those active adventurers whose life would compose a tolerable novel; and, in fact, as written by himself, has to some appeared of the class of such productions. His adventures are also noticed at some length, in the *Biographia*: but the limits of this undertaking will admit of only a few more striking particulars. — *John Bernardi*, usually called major *Bernardi*, was born at *Evesham* in the year 1657; and was descended from an honourable family which had flourished at *Lucca* in Italy, ever since the year 1097. His grandfather *Philip*, a count of the Roman empire, lived in England as resident from *Genoa* twenty-eight years, and married a native of this country. His father *Francis* succeeded to this office: but, taking disgust at some measures used by the senate of *Genoa*, resigned, and retiring to *Evesham* amused himself with gardening to some extent; and thus set the example of an occupation, which has since been of considerable advantage to the town. *John Bernardi* his son, of a spirited and restless temper, found this by much too tranquil an employment; and having, moreover, received some harsh usage from his father, at the age of thirteen turned his back on the cabbages and cauliflowers of *Evesham*, and ran off in search of gayer and more active scenes. He retained, notwithstanding, several friends; (which may induce a supposition that his father's ill treatment was not imaginary;) and was, for some time, supported by them. Sir *Clement Fisher*, of *Packington-hall*, is particularly mentioned as one of his early patrons. Little more, however, than a mere sustenance seems to have resulted from their patronage; for, soon after, he enlisted as a common soldier in the service of the prince of *Orange*. In this station he must have shewn uncommon talents and bravery, if not assisted by powerful friends, for in a short time he obtained a captain's commission in the service of the states. In April, 1677, he married a Dutch lady of good family, with whom he enjoyed much conjugal happiness for eleven years. The English regiments in this service being recalled by James the second, very few
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of them, but among those few was *Bernardi*, would obey the summons. Of course, he could not sign the association, into which the prince of Orange wished the regiments to enter. He thus lost his favour, and having no other alternative, and probably wishing for no other, he followed James into Ireland; who, soon after, sent him on some commission into Scotland, from whence, as the ruin of his master now became inevitable, he once more retired into Holland. Venturing however to appear in *London* in 1695, he was committed to Newgate, March 25, 1696, on suspicion of being an abettor of the assassination plot. Here he remained almost forty years, the whole of his remaining life, and in this confinement he had the courage to venture on a second marriage, which proved a very fortunate event to him: as he thus not only enjoyed the soothing converse of a true friend, but was even supported, during his whole imprisonment, by the care and industry of his wife. Ten children were the produce of this marriage; and thus seemed the inheritors of misery and confinement. In the mean time, he is said to have borne his imprisonment, though never convicted, with such resignation and evenness of temper, as to have excited much respect and love in the few who enjoyed his acquaintance. In the earlier part of life he had received several dangerous wounds. These now breaking out afresh, and giving him great torment, afforded a fresh trial of his equanimity and firmness. At last, he died September 20, 1736; and it would give a compassionate reader no small satisfaction to be informed what became of his faithful companion and her numerous offspring, and to hear they were tolerably provided for. But no circumstances relating to them are, that I know of, preserved. He was a little brisk and active man, of a very cheerful disposition; and, as must be evident from this short narrative, of great courage and constancy of mind.

“The name of John lord *SOMERS*, baron of *EVESHAM*, reflects”—says Dr. Nash, from whom I take the liberty of borrowing many particulars, and who, in this part of his work, seems to rise somewhat above himself,—“so much honour on the county that gave him birth, opens to a provincial historian such a field for panegyrick, as would require a volume itself.”—It certainly would:—it demands that elegance of style, as well as minuteness

nuteness of disquisition, which we discern in some of the best biographic pieces of *Johnson*;—but even were the author of this work capable of celebrating it, his slender limits would not give him leave.—He was born at *Worcester*, about the year 1650: though, which is very remarkable, the register of his baptism cannot now be found. A house is shewn on the east side of the cathedral, and very near St. Michael's church, where this great statesman and excellent scholar is said to have first opened his eyes upon the light. His father was an attorney of considerable eminence, who was born at *Kidderminster*, in this county, but lived much at a place called *White-Ladies*, near *Worcester*. It must have been during his residence there that a remarkable event happened, which is thus recorded by Mr. Habington.—March 30, the citizens and soldiers in the town [*Worcester*] destroyed St. Oswald's hospital, but spared Mr. *Somers's* house at the *White-Ladies*, which was a strong stone building, capable of lodging five hundred men in security.*—Mr. *John Somers* died January, 1681, and was buried at *Severn-Stoke*, in the same county; where an elegant Latin inscription, engraved on a marble monument, and written by his son, is still to be seen. His mother, Mrs. *Catharine Somers*, survived some years: residing first at the commandery in *Worcester*, and afterwards in the parish of St. Helen. Mr. *Somers* had an estate of about three hundred pounds per annum, at *Clifton*; to which, according to the historian I here follow, and who is now connected with this family, “his son made no addition, farther than the purchase of *Wadberrow*, and a mortgage on *Stoulton*: though *his* favour, joined to the prudence and parsimony of his successors, laid the foundations of great estates in this, and in the adjoining counties of Gloucester and Hereford.”

At a proper age, young *Somers* entered, as a commoner, at Trinity-College, in *Oxford*, in the year 1675. In the year following he is known to have contributed five pounds toward the embellishment of the elegant chapel there; and, some years after, as appears by the burfar's books, one hundred pounds more. He became also a student of law at the Middle Temple: and as he was not on the foundation, and could reap no benefit from continuing in the university, probably left college for that purpose. His original destination and chief study was the law, but he never neglected the *belles lettres*; and

* This was during the prevalence of *Cromwell's* party in this town.

and it was by his amusements in that way, his translations and poetical performances, that he first became known to the public. It is needless to observe that in those times, if ever, merit of this kind was a passport both to fame and riches. Lord *Somers*, who in some degree owed his promotion to the Muses, shewed himself not ungrateful when he endeavoured to raise into notice their favoured votary *Addison*. Sir *Francis Winnington*, then solicitor, was one of his earliest patrons. By such assistance, united to his own merit and application, he became, what was very rarely seen in those days when a deeper legal knowledge was supposed essential to a barrister, an eminent counsel, before he had attained the age of thirty. It is imagined by some, that an early acquaintance with the duke of *Shrewsbury*, to which nobleman both himself and his father had been stewards, might have contributed to turn his attention to the law, and possibly accelerated his rapid progress in that profession. His abilities and powerful oratory were always exerted in favour of liberty,—in the support of that rational freedom which is equally opposed to licentiousness and slavery. The equivocal conduct of Charles the second gave much exertion to this patriotic propensity, at a time when there were but few able advocates equally unbiassed. On that memorable day, June 29, 1688, when the seven prelates were on trial for opposing the *dispensing power* of James the second, Mr. *Somers* stood forth one of the ablest defenders of the cause of protestantism and freedom united. These bishops, whose names should never be omitted by any writer that touches, though but slightly, on the subject, were *Sancroft* the primate, *Loyde* of St. Asaph, *Ker* of Bath and Wells, *Turner* of Ely, *Lake* of Chichester, *White* of Peterborough, and *Trelawney* of Bristol. These venerable champions in a service of much danger, and who were then emphatically styled the *seven golden candlesticks*, contributed more than any (excepting perhaps their spirited advocates in the hall,) to stem the encroaching tide of popery. The trial lasted long, and was learnedly managed by the lawyers on both sides. *Holloway* and *Powell*, two of the judges, declared in favour of the prelates. The jury withdrew; and after passing the whole night in debate, pronounced the bishops *not guilty*. Westminster-hall instantly rung with applause, which, like a train, was quickly communicated to the city, and its environs. The king was in camp on *Hounslow-heath*; and, at that time, at dinner in lord Feversham's tent.

Asking the cause of these tumultuous rejoicings, he was answered, — *it was nothing but the soldiers shouting at the acquittance of the bishops.* — *Call you that nothing,* said the enraged monarch ; — *but so much the worse for them.*

On the accession of William, Mr. *Somers* reaped the harvest of his labours in so good a cause. He was, on May 9, 1689, made solicitor general ; attorney general, on May 2, 1692 ; and lord keeper in 1693. — We may judge of his popularity, his activity, and political skill, by the following expression of lord *Sunderland*, in a letter to king William, written about this period. “ Lord *Somers*” (says he) “ is the life, the soul, the spirit of his party ; and *can answer for it.*” — A character of such influence was not to be neglected by a yet unestablished monarch. On April 21, 1697, he was created baron of *Evesham*, and made lord chancellor of England. That a man so active in the concerns of a party should still retain a high degree of modesty and moderation would appear improbable, had we not reason to suppose them of that dignified and well regulated kind, as by no means to be incompatible with spirited exertions. In such a case, they add much beauty and brilliancy to any character. That he was endowed with these qualities, will appear from a letter of the duke of *Shrewsbury* to him, dated May 8, 1695, which contained the warrant of the barony. This nobleman there writes : — “ I have orders to say every thing I can imagine to persuade you to accept of a title. By your objections, you may give me leave to tell you, that you are as partial and unreasonable with too much modesty, as some are with too much ambition.”

In the year 1700, lord *Somers* was removed from the office of chancellor, and in the following year he was impeached by the commons, and tried, but acquitted by the lords. He now, for a short interval, again returned to the pursuits which had originally been the cause of his elevation. It is the best encomium on these studies, that they faithfully adhere to a man in all his fortunes, and are often the highest consolation of adversity. About this time he was chosen president of the Royal Society ; and, in the year 1706, is said to have first projected an union between the two kingdoms of England
and

and Scotland. It is plain little consequence could be lost to such a man by the mere loss of station. He was still of such importance to his party, that, in 1708, he was again called into office, and appointed lord president of the Privy Council.

But the whig interest, of which he was the chief support, began now rapidly to decline. The same engine was played off against it, which has, so often since, been the last resource of party malice. The empty splendours of conquest were derided; and the people warned that, while they joined in the huzza of victory, they were impoverishing themselves merely to enrich a few creatures of the minister. *Swift* had no small concern in this revolution in the public mind. His pamphlet on the "Conduct of the Allies" is indeed a very forcible performance, and contains many important truths. But truth, and the real interests of the nation were then probably as little consulted, as in many subsequent squabbles of this kind. One party wanted power and office;—another was to be removed from both. This was at length effected in 1710; but not till that splendid event, the union of the two kingdoms was finally adjusted, in the year 1707, which had been projected the preceding year by the great statesman who is the subject of this short encomium.

The active part of the life of lord *Somers* was now past, and he again consoled himself with his studies, and the conversation and patronage of the greatest wits of the age. His merits, in this way, are too well known to require any eulogium. Toward the latter end of queen Anne's reign, he grew very infirm, which may properly account for his occupying no important post under her successor. He is said, like many other men of enlightened and active minds, to have, for some time, survived the powers of his understanding. On April 26, 1716, he died of an apoplectic fit, to the deep regret of all parties:—of his own, as an able coadjutor in the cause of rational liberty;—and of the opposite one, as a man of admirable accomplishments, and universal benevolence. His character has been very skilfully drawn by *Addison* in the *Freeholder*, published on the ensuing fourth of May; and also (but in a lighter and more sketch-like manner) in the dedication

to the first volume of the *Spectator*. To these I must refer the reader for a task for which, had I abilities to undertake it, the nature of the present undertaking would not afford me room.*

The MSS. of this able statesman and lawyer filled above sixty folio volumes, which were destroyed by fire, in Lincoln's-inn, in the year 1752. Some remains, which the fire had spared, were published by lord *Hardwicke* in 1778, in a quarto volume entitled — “State papers from 1501 to 1726.” It is moreover affirmed, on the authority of the above nobleman, who was both his relation and successor in office, that the *Treatise on grand jurors*, the *Vindication of the last parliament of Charles the second*, and the famous last Speech of king William, were all found in the hand-writing of lord *Somers*.

The last remarkable person I have to notice, as connected with this place, is Mrs. *Elizabeth Elstob*, the famous Saxonist; of whose memory some faint traces yet remain among the inhabitants of *Evesham*. She is known to have kept a small day-school here, with great *success* doubtless to her scholars, but little *emolument* to herself. Her weekly stipend with each pupil was, as I am credibly informed, at first only a groat. — She was daughter to *Ralf* and *Jane Elstob*, and was born at *Newcastle* upon Tyne, September 29, 1683. Very early in life, she discovered a great propensity to study. Her understanding appears to have been of that flow, but steadily progressive species, which often outstrips genius itself in the race of literature. Her mother dying when she was only eight years old, she was committed to the care of Dr. *Charles Elstob*, canon of Canterbury. She afterward lived with her brother, who encouraged and assisted her in her Saxon studies; but, after his death, she was obliged to use the above expedient for her support. What brought her to exercise this employment at *Evesham* is not, I believe, now known. After
some

* It was at first intended to give these more modern lives at considerable length. But materials for the Abbey-history increased so fast on the author's hands, that, although he has not been able to use them all, they have greatly encroached on the latter part of the work. The reader must therefore accept a few almost naked dates, instead of more finished delineations of character.

some years of laborious and obscure drudgery in it, she attracted the notice of Mr. *George Ballard* of *Campton*, and several other persons of greater consideration; who raised for her among themselves, a small annuity of twenty pounds per annum. By degrees, her merit became known to that truly distinguishing patroness of talents, the late duchess of *Portland*, who received her into her family, allowed her thirty pounds a year for instructing her children, and procured a small pension for her from queen *Caroline*. In this family she died May 30, 1767, and was buried in St. Margaret's, *Westminster*. Her works, published and unpublished, are:

A Translation of *Madame Scudery's* Essay on Glory.

Translation of, and notes on, a Saxon Homily on the birth of St. Gregory, published by her brother.

Rudiments of grammar for the English-Saxon tongue. 4to. 1715.

A MS. translation of all *Ælfric's* Homilies.

An exact transcript of the *Textus Roffensis*, with some Saxon Hymns from an ancient MS. belonging to *Salisbury* cathedral.

A Saxon Homiliarium was by her undertaken, on the encouragement of Dr. *Hickes*; to which were to be added an English translation, and various readings. Five of these Homilies were afterward printed, in folio, at *Oxford*.

A transcript of the Saxon MS. of the *Athanasian* creed, printed in *Wotton's* view of *Hickes's* *Thesaurus*, 1708.

She is also reported to have left behind her a regular plan of *Evesham* Abbey: but the materials which enabled her to perform so difficult a task are not easily discovered. — Much merit is certainly to be ascribed to this lady, as the first (and probably the last) female, to whom the study of the Saxon language has afforded a curious and, in a native, very laudable pursuit.

C H A P. IX.

BATTLE OF EVESHAM.

AMONG the few remarkable events to which this vicinity has afforded a scene, there is no one that can come in competition with the famous *battle* fought here, on August 4, 1265. This battle was, not only, one of the most *decisive* that ever happened, but, in its *consequences*, as well as many *preparatory circumstances*, it may vie, in importance, with any event which the English history has recorded. Its momentous effect was the entire reinstatement of the regal power;—a power which, for a long period, during the reigns of *Henry III.* and his predecessor *John*, had fluctuated with every blast of commotion, and exhibited scarcely the *wreck* of its original dignity and splendour. Nor can we doubt but it must have altogether sunk, during the minority of the former, had it not been for the disinterested exertions of one of the most able and excellent characters of which our country can boast:—*William Marechal* the great earl of Pembroke.* —Its preceding events were (now generally acknowledged) the formation of a *house of commons*, and the captivity and absolute subjugation of the sovereign and the heir to his crown: both afterwards, by a most uncommon instance of earthly instability, suddenly raised, from a dungeon, to a degree of authority superior to any possessed by the English monarchs since the reign of *William* the second. —Beginning therefore with the battle of *Lewes*, the immediate cause of their depression, I mean briefly to relate all those transactions that intervened, till the final decision of the contest at *Evesham*; which memorable event I shall endeavour to set in the fullest light my scanty materials

* This truly great man, whose exertions were equally in favour of the regal prerogative and the liberty of the subject, had not only established and protected Henry on the throne, but also insisted on his observance of the charters established by his predecessors.

materials will allow. The most remarkable incidents that succeeded it will serve to fill up the back ground of the piece, and thus compleat this detached attempt at historical delineation.

After many ill-conducted efforts on the part of *Henry* to render himself absolute, which the weakness and levity of his conduct that had made him despicable to his subjects would have rendered impracticable in much more favourable conjunctures, the barons, with *Simon Montfort* earl of Leicester at their head, took up arms in defence of their rights, so often scandalously infringed. The whole preceding part of the reign had been little better than a scene of perpetual contention between the two parties: but, at this period, in the year 1263, these barons were determined never to desist, till their grievances had been fully redressed. *Henry*, unassisted, could have but ill combated this powerful combination; but his son prince *Edward*, now grown to man's estate, had, by his great abilities and wonderful activity, frequently broken all his opponent's measures, and rendered his father's cause triumphant.

The king began hostilities by an attempt on the castle of *Dover*, then in possession of the barons. These politic lords thought it their interest to allow him to enter first upon hostile measures, that a plea might not be wanting, in their defence, to the people. *Dover* castle was saved by the vigilance of its governor, *Richard de Grey*: but this attempt proved the signal to civil commotion; and many towns were besieged and taken, by both parties.

The city of *London* was, at that time, in the interest of the barons: yet the king, having a powerful garrison in the Tower, obliged it to an unwilling neutrality. There were also, in the city itself, many partisans of the royal cause, which were a continual check upon the rest of the inhabitants. The earl of Leicester, aware of the advantage of having complete possession of the capital, by hasty marches approached to it on the Surrey side; hoping his friends might find an opportunity of admitting him, by way of the bridge. *Henry* received notice of this design, and directing his troops to fall from the Tower, they took a post in Southwark, where they were headed by their
king

king who had resolved to dispute the passage into the city. *Leicester* made a resolute attack on these troops, in full confidence that the citizens would effectually assist him in his effort to force his way. But, during this skirmish, some of these citizens who had espoused the opposite party, perceiving a commotion arising in favour of the earl, suddenly shut the gates of the bridge, and threw the keys into the Thames. This precaution had nearly been the destruction of *Leicester*, and his small army. But the bridge-gates being at length broken down, and the citizens falling out in great numbers to assist the earl's troops, the king was obliged to retire, and *Leicester* entered the city in triumph.

It was constantly, during these struggles, the king's custom, to propose some scheme of accommodation, when any considerable advantage had been gained by his opponents. His usual mode of escape from these conditions, when he thought himself in a capacity again to take the field, was that they were *hard* and *unreasonable*. Both sides, on this occasion, agreed to refer their dispute to the French king. *Louis* undertook the arbitration: but took care to render it ineffectual by a *contradictory* award. He adjudged that the statutes of *Oxford** should be repealed:—that the king should again enjoy all his prerogatives:—that he should chuse his own officers, either from among foreigners or English, as suited him best:—and lastly declared that it was not his design to injure any of the privileges the English had possessed, previously to the parliament of *Oxford*. This parliament having been assembled merely with a view to protect these privileges, the barons looked upon this sentence, in its true light, as farcical, contradictory, and absurd. It was therefore rejected by them, and the war recommenced with fresh vigour.

Of

* These statutes, enacted in 1254, consisted of six articles, ordaining:—1. That the king should confirm the great charter.—2. That the office of chief justice should be conferred always on a man of probity and capacity, who should administer justice impartially.—3. That the high chancellor and other great officers should be chosen by the twenty-four commissioners, appointed for that purpose.—4. That the custody of castles, &c. should also be left in their hands.—5. That it should be a capital crime to oppose their decrees.—6. That the parliament should meet every three years.

Of many intervening incidents, prior to the battle of *Lewes*, history has afforded but a very confused and perplexed account. It is however easy to discern, that *Henry* frequently had the better in the contest; and that the intrigues of his son *Edward*, and of his brother *Richard* king of the Romans, had gained over several of the barons to the crown. He reduced the town of *Oxford*, and drove away the students, who had shewn an inclination to the opposite cause. He also took the town of *Northampton*, by storm, and, in it, no fewer than fifteen barons, and sixty knights; all whom he would have hanged, had not his generals represented to him the danger of reprisals, in this severe mode of treatment. *Nottingham* fell next before his arms: after which he marched into Kent, where he compelled the barons to raise the siege of *Rocheſter*, and retire to London.

Henry, whose light mind was elated or depressed with equal facility, became so alert by this good success, that he resolved to march immediately to *London*, and end the war. He doubted not but that city, intimidated by his progress, would become an easy prey to his arms.—“It is not unlikely,” an eminent historian* observes,—“but this expectation might have been fulfilled; if, from his accession to the throne, he had shewn a greater regard to the citizens of that metropolis:—but the remembrance of the ill usage they had received from him, prevented their exposing themselves to the hazard of being again ill treated.” The earl of Leicester was there; and, by representing to the citizens in the strongest light the probable consequences of the king’s wrath, should they again fall into his power, he worked them up to a resolution of marching out to offer him battle. *Henry* was somewhat intimidated by this bold design, and withdrew to a greater distance: taking a circuitous route, through *Tunbridge* and *Winchelsea*, to the town of *Lewes*, in *Suffex*.

Thither the earl of Leicester speedily followed him. He had reinforced his army by a considerable number of these bold citizens, and thought himself in a condition to hazard a battle, that might, once for all, decide the
O o
quarrel.

* Rapin: from whom I chiefly collect my incidents, but with many additions from other less known authors, and a considerable alteration with respect to style and method.

quarrel. Having arrived within about six miles of the king's army, the barons halted; and wished, once more, to make it appear the contest was not of their own seeking:—and this, it is probable, to shift the blame from themselves to the other party, in case the king should not accede to their proposals. They sent him word, — that they had not taken up arms through a desire of withdrawing their obedience from him, but merely to redress the disorders of his government. They intreated him to join in this desirable work, and he should then find them as loyal to his person as those who, under pretence of serving him, endeavoured to alienate his affection from his dutiful subjects.—This proposal was drawn up in the most respectful and affectionate terms they could possibly devise.

It is not easy sometimes to forbear a smile on perusing events of this nature, which our historians have, as becomes their office, delivered down to us with all imaginable gravity. Well may a late eminent writer denominate history the *annals of blood!*—but it is also, frequently, the record of treachery and deceit; and of the perpetual triumph of self-interest over the public good. We cannot, from what followed, suppose those barons had no further aim than the redressment of *real* grievances. This message, therefore, was the keenest mockery they could offer. It was received as such by all but this passive, spiritless monarch. His son *Edward* and his brother *Richard* were so galled by it, that they publicly *gave the lie* to the baron's protestations; and, at length, prevailed upon the king to join them, in sending back a message replete with threats and defiance.

All hope of accommodation being now at an end, the earl of Leicester ordered his army to advance, and drew up in order of battle near the king's troops, which prepared to receive him. The royal army was divided into three bodies. The prince commanded on the right; the king of the Romans on the left; and the king himself in the centre. The confederate lords divided their forces into four bodies. The first was led by *Henry Montfort*, the general's son; the second by the earl of Gloucester; the third by *Simon Montfort*, the general: and the fourth, altogether composed of the citizens of *London*, was under the command of *Nicholas Seagrave*. Prince *Edward* began the

the battle, by attacking the London militia ; who, though of late so resolute and determined, turned their backs, on the very first onset. The prince, eager to revenge the ignominious affront* which the populace of *London* had lately offered his mother, pursued them above four miles, and allowed them no quarter. But, as usually happens to these rash pursuits in the beginning of an action, by detaching himself from the main body, he was probably the cause of the subsequent overthrow. For in the mean time the earls of Leicester and Gloucester had gained nearly an equal advantage over the king, and his brother *Richard*. Aware of their utter ruin and extermination, should they lose the battle, they fought with a resolution excited by despair ; and, meeting with but a faint resistance, speedily put the royal army to the most disorderly flight, and took prisoners both the king and his brother, thus deserted by their troops. *Henry* surrendered himself to the earl of Leicester, without a struggle ; but an incident is related of the king of the Romans which, though not generally noticed by historians, may be found in the ancient chronicle of *Mailros*. It is there affirmed that *Richard*, after the defeat of his troops, with a few followers, took possession of a *windmill*† that stood

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near

* These gentry had, in the preceding year, insulted the queen, as she was one day passing over the bridge, on her way to *Windfor* ; and that in a very brutal way. They hooted after her, called her names, and even threw stones at her.

† This circumstance is farther confirmed by a very curious instance of early satire, which Dr. *Percy* met with among the Harleian MSS. and has inserted in his “*Reliques of Ancient Poetry*.” It is so much to my present purpose that I shall copy the whole, and add a short explanation. This poem was probably written soon after the battle of *Lewes*, by one of *Simon Montfort's* adherents.

I.

“ SITTETH alle stille, ant herkneht to me ;
The kyng of Alemaigne, bi mi leaute,
Thritti thousand pound askede he
For te make the pees in the countre,
Ant so he dude more.
Richard, thah thou be ever trichard,
Trichthen shalt thou never more.

II.

Richard of Alemaigne, whil that he wes kying,
He spende al is trefour opon swyvyng,
Haveth he nout of Wallingford oferlyng,
Let him habbe, ase he brew, bale to dryng,
Maugre Wyndesore.
Richard, thah thou be ever, &c.

The

near the spot, which he baricadoed, and defended, for some time, against the barons; but, in the evening, was also forced to submit,

It is more easy to conceive, than to describe, the chagrin and disappointment of the prince, on his return from the pursuit. To find the battle totally lost;—his father in the enemies hands;—and the regal power, to which he

III.

The kyng of Alemaigne wende do ful wel,
He faised the mulne for a castel,
 With hare sharpe fwerdes he grounde the stel,
 He wende that the sayles were mangonel

To help Wyndefore.

Richard, thah thou be ever, &c.

IV.

The kyng of Alemaigne gedered ys host,
Makede him a castel of a mulne post,
 Wende with is prude, ant is muchele bost,
 Brohte from Alemayne mony fori goft

To store Wyndefore.

Richard, thah thou be ever, &c.

V.

By God, that is aboven us, he dude muche sinne,
 That lette passen over see the erl of Warynne:
 He hath robbed Engeland, the mores ant the
 fenne,

The gold, ant the selver, and y-boren henne,
 For love of Wyndefore.

Richard, thah thou be ever, &c.

VI.

Sire *Simond de Mounfort* hath fuore bi ys chyn,
 Hevede he nou here the erl of Waryn,
 Shuld he never more come to is yn,
 Ne with sheld, ne with spere, ne with other gyn,
 To help of Wyndefore.

Richard, thah thou be ever, &c.

VII.

Sire *Simond de Montfort* hath fuore bi ys fot,
 Hevede he nou here Sire Hue de Bigot:
 Al he shulde grante here twelfmoneth scot,
 Shulde he never more with his fot pot
 To help Wyndefore.

Richard, thah thou be ever trichard,

Tricthen shalt thou never more."

The first stanza of this satirical song, according to Dr. Percy the original editor of it, alludes to a circumstance little noticed in history:—That the king of the Romans had, by the barons, been offered the sum of thirty thousand pounds to negotiate peace between them and the king; but, on such terms, as would have totally deprived the latter of all his regal power.—*Wallingford* and *Eyre* had been confirmed to *Richard*, on his marriage with *Sanchia*, daughter of the count of Provence, in 1242. This furnishes matter for the second stanza.—The third alludes to the circumstance of the *wind-mill* mentioned above.—The fourth, to a report raised in England that *Richard*, after his election to the dignity of king of the Romans, was about to return and over-run the kingdom with an army of foreigners.—The fifth, and two following, lament the escape of earl *Warren* and Sir *Hugh Bigot*; and insinuate that, if they once fell into the hands of *Simon Montfort*, they should

he was heir, in all appearance utterly at a period, must altogether constitute the severest transition from *triumph*, to absolute *despair*. He resolved however to make a bold effort to change the face of his affairs: — and, had this effort been instantly made, while the enemy were busied in guarding their prisoners and in the pursuit, he would probably have effected his purpose. But his soldiers, torpid with amazement at the unexpected change, could not be prevailed on to lift an arm.* *Edward*, by turns, made use of entreaties, promises, and threats: but all in vain. In the interim, *Simon Montfort* was restoring order among his troops. It is supposed this general had, on the first return of the prince, little doubt but that his forces, then in confusion, would have been attacked, and the victory easily wrested from them. Finding leisure allowed to rally them, he now thought of nothing but of preventing the prince's escape. To ensure his prize, he began to send proposals of accommodation; while, by various detachments which he sent in different directions, he took care to render his retreat impracticable.

In the mean time, all in *Edward's* little army remained in extreme perturbation and uncertainty. The prince was, himself, doubtful what means he should try to relieve himself from his perplexity. If he decided on vigorous measures, he was not certain his troops would second his efforts. Much time was lost in endeavours to reanimate them. The frequent messages of *Leicester* contributed also to prevent him from seizing the moment of engaging, or, at least, of retiring in good order. Effecting neither, he found himself suddenly encompassed by the various detachments *Leicester* had sent out, and now felt himself obliged to accept the best conditions he should offer. The negotiation lasted but few minutes. It was agreed that the statutes of *Oxford* should be inviolably observed, and some amendments made in them, by commissioners named by the parliament. In case such commis-

sioners

should never more return home. This fixes the date of the ballad. It must have been written previous to the defeat of the barons at *Evesham*, in 1265. — *Windfor* castle was the chief fortress of the king, and had lately been garrisoned by foreigners. This furnishes materials for the burthen of each stanza.

* Just at this juncture, the earl of Warrenne, *Hugh de Bigod*, *William de Valence*, and *Guy de Lusignan* deserted him, with seven hundred men under their command, and fled to *Pevensey*, where they embarked for the continent.

sioners should not agree, the business should be referred to the count of Anjou, the brother of the French king; who should be assisted by four lords of his court. — In this there was nothing harsh or unfair: but the next article must have deeply affected a prince of *Edward's* high spirit. — It was, in that, proposed — that he himself and his cousin *Henry*, son to the king of the Romans, should remain as hostages, till every thing was new-regulated by the parliament. — *Edward* was forced to consent. These articles, called the *Mise* or agreement of *Lewes*, were then signed by the prince, and confirmed by his father,* who was equally incapable of helping himself.

Thus ended the famous battle, or rather *double rout*, of *Lewes*, fought on May 14, 1264. With the scene of *this* battle the author is not unacquainted: but time has now effaced all those *minuter recollections*, which might serve to throw light on its *manœuvres*, and which alone could demand much attention from the reader. — It may be observed however, in brief, that this spot affords a much better stage for a regular engagement than the vicinity of *Evesham*, of which so much more will be said. The town of *Lewes*, bounded on the east and west by very high downs, has on the south and north, particularly the former, a large expanse of level meadow-ground, which extends almost to the sea. In these meadows, and pretty near the town, was this battle decided. There are still some small ruins of the *priory* remaining, to which *Henry* was conducted, after his defeat. On the north side of the town,

on

* This *signing* and *ratifying* was, by no means, an unusual affair with this most *versatile* monarch. He had sworn to observe the two great charters, and had afterward broken his engagement almost *as many times* as he had reigned *years*. In 1253, a very ridiculous scene, of this kind, was acted. *Henry* required a subsidy, which the barons would not grant, without his swearing to cause the charters to be better observed. The king agreed to this, and assembled in Westminster-hall all the lords spiritual and temporal of the kingdom. These had, each of them, a *wax-light* in his hand. *Henry* refused himself to use this ceremony, telling them that he would *lay his hand upon his heart*, and keep it there, during the whole solemnity; the better to evidence the *sincerity* of his intentions. The two charters were then read aloud, the king still *keeping his hand upon his heart*. The barons threw, each man, his taper to the ground, and *wished those who infringed the charters might so smoke in hell*. They were scarcely got out of the hall, before the king began to take measures to disengage himself from this covenant.

on a high artificial mount, there yet appears the *castle*, tolerably entire. To this castle, it is said, the king's troops endeavoured to make their way, after they had been driven from the field : — for it had been previously garrisoned by part of the royal army. But, finding the town was in the power of the barons, — that the two kings were taken, — and that they would, in all likelihood, be speedily surrounded, — they laid down their arms, and submitted at discretion. — Somewhat farther to the east, is a smaller mount, without any remains of building now visible. Its original destination I could never learn ; but, in all probability, it was thrown up either for the purpose of attacking the castle, (which, however, stands on much higher ground,) or was a sort of fortress, subordinate to it.

Simon Montfort, by this great turn of fortune, had the king, and nearly his whole family, at his entire disposal. He seems so completely to have gained an ascendancy over his own party, that scarcely are the names of his coadjutors once mentioned in history. This politic general made every advantage of his situation that the most crafty statesman could devise. To these, all such as are doubtful of his *ultimate* intentions, and are advocates for the *purity* of his motives, should be called on to attend. He, who had lately made no scruple of disobeying his sovereign, under the pretence of evil influence, now transacted nothing but in *Henry's* name. He obliged the king to send orders, — that all the towns should be delivered up to the barons. Notice was, in the same way, sent to all the sheriffs, which empowered them to take up arms against all who should disturb the public tranquillity. By this artifice, the authority of the crown was exerted against its own partisans ; for such only could now disturb the peace, with any hope of advantage. The same man, who had thrown all in confusion to deprive the king of that arbitrary power he would willingly have assumed, repented the smallest disobedience to any commands he was now enabled himself to dictate. — “ Thus,” says the impartial Rapin, “ do men change their measures and maxims, according to their interests, and the situation of their affairs : but these reflections we should too often repeat, were we obliged to stop, for that purpose, at every opportunity that offers.”

The chief end the barons proposed to themselves by the agreement made after the battle of *Lewes*,—the caption of prince *Edward*,—being now attained, they gave themselves but little trouble about the performance of the other articles. They had resolved to draw up the plan of an entire new form of government, and to have this scheme authorised by the parliament, which was to assemble in the ensuing month of June. The calling this parliament was liable, in the present state of affairs, to many dangers and difficulties. It was indeed summoned in the king's name, who could not have prevented even the issuing a warrant for his own execution; but the great danger was that many of the king's party would intermix with this assembly, and would not be found over-tractable in ratifying the new measures. To prevent this, the names of all those known to have espoused the king's cause were carefully omitted in the summons, under pretence of their being still in arms against their country.

There was yet another difficulty. A parliament composed only of a small part of those who had a right to sit as members, seemed liable to *objections*, and deficient in *authority*. It might be esteemed only *an assembly of private persons*. Means were therefore to be sought after which might give this meeting not only an air of greater *generality*, but also of *legal weight* and consequence. The king was, with this view, obliged to sign commissions to establish, in each county, certain officers or magistrates, entitled *conservators*: “under colour,” says Rapin, “that they were to *preserve* the privileges of the people.” Care was, however, taken that these conservators should be entirely dependant upon the barons:—in other respects their office was of the greatest power and authority. They had, in short, a commission to perform whatever *they should judge might conduce to the liberties of the subject*.

This was only a *previous* step. In addition to this the king was compelled to sign other orders, empowering these conservators to nominate *four knights* in each county, to sit in the new parliament as the *representatives* of their respective districts.—This latter regulation is, certainly, the origin of our present house of commons, as far as regards the *county members*; or *knights of the shires*. It would, I suppose, be difficult to adduce any proof, that the
citizens

citizens or *burgesses* actually formed a part of any parliament, before the year 1295, the twenty-third of the reign of *Edward the first*;* though there is no doubt but that the cities and boroughs were written to, and required to depute members, on a nearly subsequent occasion. It is generally agreed, that the *separation* into *two distinct houses* did not take place till the reign of *Edward the third*: when, in the year 1376, a speaker of the house of commons was first appointed, and that assembly began to set up distinct claims, and assume peculiar privileges.

But, as this important point is not even yet so firmly established as not to be liable to several objections, let us advert to the arguments Rapin has adduced, in favour of this period. — “Many” — says he — “affirm, that this is the first time it *incontestably* appears that the several counties of the kingdom had sent deputies to the parliament. That all the reasons adduced to prove the commons enjoyed this privilege, before the year 1264, [or forty-ninth of *Henry III.*] are subject to so many objections, that they cannot be allowed as a convincing proof. Indeed it seems that no good reason can be alledged, why all historians have unanimously taken notice, that, on *this* occasion, the representatives of the several counties sat in parliament, had it been a practice from the beginning of the monarchy. For what reason should they have omitted making the same remark on so many other preceeding parliaments which they have mentioned? It is certain, — those who pretend to find proof of the people’s sending their deputies to parliament, in *ancient* history, are obliged to deduce these proofs by consequences that do not always appear natural.”

Although this judicious historian expresses himself in so guarded a manner, it is easy to perceive which way his opinion inclines. — But in compliance with the present temper, which is, by no means, that of submitting tamely to authorities, but rather of judging for ourselves, whether we are capable

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* The representatives of the borough of *Evesham* (which sends two to parliament) cannot, as the reader will perceive by the Appendix, be traced higher than this year.

or not, let us take a brief survey of those different periods, which may contest this important point with the present conjuncture.

I. There are authors, and those not few in number, who look as far back as the reign of *Alfred* for the origin of *deputies* from the commons. But beside that the scantiness of matter, in so early a period, will deny them any thing like a proof of their opinion, the information historians give us of the different councils established by *Alfred* will afford them but little, even of *probability*, to rest on. History affirms that *Alfred*, after he had attained a state of some tranquility, established three councils. — A *privy council*, to which none but persons in the highest esteem and confidence with the king were called. — Another composed of the bishops, earls, viscounts or presidents of the counties, judges, and some of the chief barons, or, as they were then called, *thanes*. — The third was the general council or assembly of the nation, called *Wittena Gemot*; in which any office of trust gave the members a right to sit, independently of the king's will. Here, if any where, must we search for a mixture of the *commons*. But we hear of no such thing. It was composed of the two archbishops, the bishops, earls, viscounts or high sheriffs of counties, and the *thanes*, or barons of the first rank. It is certain, these latter were then but little distinguished from the commons, except by their holding fees of the crown. But we must consider, it was this *last* circumstance alone that entitled them to sit: not their being the *representatives* of any collective body whatever.* — If it be objected, which is probably the truth, that not even an idea of what we, at present, call *representation* then subsisted, it will still be difficult to prove the lowest of these *thanes* were entitled to no higher rank than that of *commoners*.

II. The next period which affords any ground for the supposition of a *house of commons*, (for we certainly must look for it among the earlier Norman princes,) is the year 1116, or sixteenth of *Henry the first*. That monarch, wishing to secure the crown in his family, is said to have called a *general assembly*

* Those who are desirous of seeing this argument, *pro* and *con*, in its greatest extent, may consult Rapin vol. 1. article *Wittena-Gemot*.

assembly at *Salisbury*, to propose to them an oath of acknowledgement of his son *William*, as future king. Here also many pretend to discover the origin of a house of commons; at least, of the right established by some of that order, to sit in parliament. They assert that *Henry* convened the *commons*, as well as the nobility and clergy, in conformity with the Norman usage; and that *deputies* from the *people* were certainly then first admitted to sit. Some go so far as to affirm, this was the first assembly in England that received the name of *parliament*. This latter assertion proves nothing at all; as the word is of a *general* and *indefinite* signification: and, with respect to the rest, *conjecture* alone can be admitted, with more or less probability; as we are here left more in the dark, with respect to the component members of this assembly, than even of those in the time of *Alfred*.

III. No other period intervenes, till near the end of the reign of *Henry* the *third*, in which we can find even a probable footing for a supposition of this kind. There is little doubt, I think, but the barons had some *precedent* in view: and they might draw that precedent even from *Saxon* times. But, at least, it must be owned, that no certainty, or even great probability on this head, can be attained, till, during the interval *Henry* was in the power of his barons, regular citations (still extant) were first issued both to *abbots* and *knights* of the *shires*. We may therefore safely fix on this period as the origin of the *completion* of our present constitution, as to its *form*. An origin doubtless effected by the lords, with no other intent but that of excluding the *monarch's* friends, and making up an assembly composed of their *own*: but this lucky accident (as in other instances has frequently happened) gave rise to a form of government, which, for its exact ballance between *liberty* and *legal restraint*, is one of the most perfect the world ever saw.

The new parliament, so composed, assembled on June 24, 1264. It is needless to observe its entire devotion to *Simon Montfort*, and his adherents. The plan of government, lately formed by him, was fully approved by this *impartial* assembly.—The parliament itself was to name *three* prudent and discreet commissioners, invested with powers to elect a council of *nine* lords. To these, the whole administration of affairs was to be entrusted. The king,

with consent of the commissioners, was permitted to change some, or even the whole number of these nine counsellors. In case the three commissioners should not agree on any point, it should be decided by a *plurality* of votes. All resolutions, approved by any *six* of these counsellors, should be universally obeyed. If it happened, that even two-thirds of the number could not be brought to an agreement, the question was to be decided by the three commissioners. The king might change or discard even these commissioners, *with consent of the body of the barons*.

These regulations were to remain in force till the parliament thought proper to change or annul them. A rumour at this time prevailed that the king and prince *Edward* had by no means their *option* concerning these degrading articles. Hints of *deposition* from the throne are said to have been repeatedly thrown out, in case of a refusal, on the one part. While, on the other, an idea of *perpetual confinement* was studiously suggested, should opposition be made. In such a situation, should these princes have consented to sign, with a mental reservation of *retracting*, whenever an opportunity was afforded them, we can scarcely *wonder*, though we cannot but *condemn*. Every thing seemed now fixed on the firm footing the barons so ardently desired; and, in fact, it appeared scarcely in the power of *fortune* to effect a change.

About this time an event happened, which, though little to my present purpose, shall be mentioned; as it will admirably illustrate the temper of this period, and shew the *guarded* manner in which the barons were, as yet, forced to *tyrannize*. It will also serve to evince that the same unsettled state of *usurpation* will, in all times, produce nearly the same line of *conduct*.—During the preceding year, and in the midst of the confusion, the pope had sent the cardinal of St. Sabine, as his legate, into England. On his arrival in France, this prelate received a letter from the earl of *Leicester*, advising him,—that it was by no means a proper time to assume such an office in England, as neither the barons, nor the common people, were inclined to receive him. The haughty cardinal could not but take offence at such a liberty, used by a nation over which his predecessors had been accustomed to tyrannize without controul. Yet he would not venture to land on English ground. Proceeding

ceeding however to *Boulogne*, he, from thence, cited all the bishops in England to appear, and give an account of their proceedings. The bishops refused, and were all *excommunicated*. They appealed to the pope. But, by this time, the affairs of the kingdom being settled in the manner above related, the barons agreed upon giving the legate some satisfaction. They sent four bishops, to account for their refusal to admit him. The cardinal was found in the utmost wrath and vexation. Instead of an answer, he commanded these bishops to return, and excommunicate *Simon Montfort*, by name, the whole city of *London*, and the estates of the earl of Gloucester.—The refusal of the barons to admit this meddling ecclesiastic was, at that time, necessary and proper: but the steps they took afterwards to frustrate this latter mission was mean, and unworthy the rulers of any nation.—These envoys had no sooner set out on their commission, but they met at sea an armed ship full of ruffians; who, *pretending to be pirates*, rifled them of all their effects and papers, and threw the latter over-board. This trick served however to convince the legate, that it was no time for him to carry his point; and he retreated, in some haste, back to *Rome*.

At the latter end of this year, 1264, the earl of Leicester, now *sovereign* in all but *title*, had the good fortune to extricate himself from two considerable difficulties. The queen of *Henry*, at that time abroad, threatened an invasion; which it seemed the design of the Welsh prince *Llewellyn*, and several English lords on the borders of Wales, to second. He contrived first to gain over *Llewellyn*: which having effected, the defeat of the borderers was easy and certain. In the mean time, fortune so favoured him in another quarter, that the wind continued unfavourable to the queen's project, till the approach of winter made it necessary to disband her troops.

“All this while,” says Rapin, “the king was in custody of the earl of Leicester; who managed him as he pleased, making him act against his own interest, under the *pretence* that it was for the good of his kingdom.”—But his deliverance was now at hand. The barons, at the beginning of the following year, 1265, began to regard, with a jealous eye, the immoderate
power

power assumed by *Leicester*. It seemed to them, though of a different kind, more uniformly absolute than that ever exercised by the king.

Above all, the earl of Gloucester conceived the greatest discontent at his proceedings. This man appears, throughout, well-intentioned:—to have formed a just idea of the balance, that should ever be preserved, between the regal power and the liberty of the subject:—but he was suspicious, wavering, and irresolute. These qualities, evil in themselves, yet served to deliver the kingdom from a tyranny that would, doubtless, have increased to the utmost point allowed it. He thought he discovered, in *Leicester*, designs upon the *throne* itself. All his zeal for the public good seemed, to him, a mere pretence, to obtain the better this ambitious end. He began to repent of the assistance he had afforded a man, who now had it in his power, and whom he feared might use that power, to oppress *him*, equally with the *meanest* subject. An incident, that just now happened, confirmed all these suspicions, and heightened his jealousy. The earl of Derby, no great friend to *Leicester*, had, for too freely censuring some measures he had adopted, been lately sent to the Tower. *Leicester* hoped, by a few examples of this kind, to silence at least his *open* opponents. Added to this, *Gloucester* thought he discovered in him a *cold* and *reserved* behaviour, that seemed a presage of his *own* speedy ruin. He had, in fact, by this tyrannical baron, not only been excluded from the privy council, but also from a participation in the management of all public affairs. All these circumstances inclined him strongly to favour the malecontents, on the borders. It appeared to him merely a measure of *self-defence*, against the ambitious designs of a man, whom he could not look on but as a *secret enemy*. He could not however manage his affairs with such privacy, as to elude the vigilant sagacity of *Leicester*. An order from the council suddenly came forth, commanding all those who had lately appeared in arms against the established government, to repair to *Ireland*. *Gloucester* now thought himself obliged to throw off the mask; and, instead of retiring to Ireland, all these exiles found a retreat and protection on his estates.

A rumour very dangerous to *Leicester's* interest, soon after, sprang up:—
whether

whether the fabrication of his enemies, or the mere echo of truth, it is not easy to determine. It was said that his treatment of the royal prisoners was so *severe*, as to make his ultimate ill-intentions evident to all. *Leicester* thought it absolutely necessary to stifle so pernicious a report; but, for so able a statesman, certainly adopted a very *shallow* measure to effect his purpose. He summoned a parliament; the chief intention of which was, as he gave out, to find means to grant to prince *Edward* his liberty. He wished to prove, by his seeming readiness to restore freedom to the heir of the crown, that it could not, possibly, be his intention to aspire to it. In this parliament, every county was required to send two *knights* to represent it, and every town or city, two *members*. This therefore is the undoubted *origin* of *borough representation*: but that their deputies continued as regular members to sit in parliament, till some time after *Edward* the *first* ascended the throne, may reasonably be disputed. On this occasion, Rapin remarks that—"some from hence observe that, as the generality of historians take no notice of its being a *novelty*, it follows of consequence that it was an *usual* practice. Others alledge, — that if it had been a *custom*, it would have been useless to have taken any notice at all of *this* particular; after having mentioned so many other parliaments, without the same remark." — He then adds, — "I leave it to the reader to approve, which of these *two consequences* he thinks the most natural."

It would seem to evince an undue bias to observe, that this new parliament was *entirely* under *Leicester's* direction, were it not the remark of almost every historian of this period. In their very first deliberation, an order was procured for the enlargement of prince *Edward*: but with a *restriction*, that made such enlargement of no manner of advantage to him. He was ordered constantly to *attend* his father, and in *all things* to *obey* him. Now his father being totally under the *protection* of the earl, this was granting a man *liberty*, provided he could, *himself*, attain it. It was a *blind man* with his more sagacious *dog* in a string, whom an unlucky varlet was conducting into a *ditch*. Rapin calls it, — *throwing dust in the eyes of the public*; and so it really was: — but, to suppose the public were blinded by that *dust*, is contrary to the tenor of subsequent events. In consequence however of this order, the prince

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was removed from the castle of *Dover*, where he had remained a prisoner since the battle of *Lewes*, and placed with his father ; and this was the liberty *Leicester* seemed so *anxious* he should enjoy. The earl, meanwhile, took sufficient care of both ;—kindly carried them every where with him ;—and seemed never tired of their company.

Gloucester's suspicions were not much allayed by this *pantomimical scene*. It appeared now evident to him, that *Leicester* was aiming at the throne. Still, however, he would not have chosen to enter upon hostile measures, had not an event, which now happened, deprived him of the freedom of choice. *Simon Montfort's* two sons proclaimed a *tournament*, and invited all the lords to attend it. *Gloucester*, whose suspicions never slept, imagined it was meant as a snare. It is impossible, at this time, to judge whether his mistrust of them was well grounded or not ; but he acted altogether, as if he had, himself, entertained no doubt of the matter. He immediately, and publicly joined the lords of the Welsh marches, who were in arms against *Leicester*, and stored his castles for defence. His enemies probably wished for nothing more. A proclamation came out, by which he and his adherents were declared traitors, and enemies to the state. *Leicester* set out directly, at the head of some troops, to punish these enemies of his *sovereign* ; and directed his march toward *Hereford*, attended by his two royal prisoners.*

Notwithstanding the great vigilance of the earl to prevent the escape of these unhappy captives, *Gloucester* soon after laid a very artful scheme to deliver prince *Edward* from his confinement. Here one would naturally enquire, why he did not rather attempt to effect the liberty of *Henry* himself ; as he must have been aware of the superior advantages to be gained by it ? But it is probable, either that the king was guarded with more caution than his son ; or this earl, who well knew both, might expect more assistance from the *activity* of the young prince, than even from the *regal authority* of his spiritless fire.

Roger

* History does not inform us what had become of *Richard*, the king's brother :—but we, soon after, find him in the custody of young *Montfort*, at *Kenilworth* castle.

Roger Mortimer, one of the lords of the Welch marches, was consulted concerning this design, and became the instrument of its successful execution by a very curious and unexpected device. He contrived that one of his friends in the town of *Hereford*, where he had many connexions, should present *Edward* with a very fleet horse; and, at the same time, hint at the use they wished him to make of his speed. The prince, thus tutored, began to complain of indisposition, which he supposed might arise from want of exercise, and begged permission sometimes to ride on horseback. *Leicester* suspecting nothing, gave him leave: but used as many precautions against an escape, as if he concluded it would be attempted. A guard had been constantly kept about the prince: but, on the present occasion, some persons, well mounted, were ordered to ride by his side, and keep a strict eye upon all his motions. *Edward* took horse, and rode into the fields; where, after having exercised two other horses, he, at last, called for that which had been lately presented to him. This horse, as he pretended, wanted farther breaking in; and, setting him upon his paces, contrived to get at a small distance from his guard. His equestrian companions still however kept close, on each side. Having arrived at a spot which seemed favourable to his purpose, the prince suddenly giving his horse the spur, and laying the rein on his neck, was at a considerable distance before his careful guardians could do more than gape after such an unlooked for frolic. Recovering from their amazement, they pursued with all speed; but were soon checked by the appearance of a body of horse, which *Gloucester* had previously sent out to favour *Edward's* escape.*

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* A late compiler of the English history [Smollet] gives rather a different account of this escape. But I cannot help suspecting this writer, the tenor of whose narrative runs so smoothly and uninterruptedly, and who appears to have met with no difficulties where other more scrupulous authors have been obstructed by them, of sometimes *coaxing* events so as best to suit his purpose. He seems to have weighed *probabilities* against each other, rather than *authorities*. His account of this transaction is as follows: — “He,” (the earl of Gloucester,) “by means of his brother *Thomas de Clare*, who attended *Edward* as a companion, communicated his resolution to that prince, who readily embraced the occasion of retrieving his liberty, and promised to act according to the directions he received. In pursuance of these, he one day rode forth in the afternoon to divert himself

His liberty was now secure. *Gloucester* received him with much joy and respect, but with a provisory caution which sets the character of this lord in no unfavourable light. He represented to him, that, although he had thus favoured his escape, he would, on no account, second any farther attempts at arbitrary power. He informed him that he could promise him assistance on no other terms, but his swearing to re-establish the ancient laws in full force, and to remove all strangers from about the king's person. With all his defects, one cannot but admire this nobleman's moderation and good sense. We may venture to affirm, that what appears in his conduct like irresolution and inconstancy, was forced upon him by the exigencies of the times. That his party changed their maxims, to preserve which inviolate, himself was obliged to change his party. — After *Edward* had taken the oath, *Gloucester* resigned to him the command of the troops he had raised. He was joined also by the heroic *John Giffard*, at the head of a very large body, both of horse and foot. In a few days he was farther reinforced by *William de Valence*, *John* earl of *Warrenne*, and *Hugh Bigod*, then lately returned to England, and fully recovered from the panic which had seized them at *Lewes*. *Knighton** adds that the populace received the news of *Edward's* escape with unspeakable joy; and, flocking from all quarters to his standard, soon encreased his army to a prodigious force and magnitude.

Leicester likewise heard the news, and appeared to receive it with much unconcern and indifference. Yet we cannot suppose him ignorant of, or insensible

himself in *Widmarsh* near *Hereford*, accompanied by his usual guards and attendants, and made running matches between them until he had tired all their horses. In the evening the lord *Croft* appearing on the ascent of *Tulington-hill*, and waving his bonnet according to agreement, the prince mounted a steed of incomparable fleetness, which he had reserved for the purpose, and bade adieu to his keepers, who pursued him for some time, until they saw him received by *Roger de Mortimer*, with a party of men, who had concealed themselves in a neighbouring wood, and now conducted him to the castle of *Wigmore*.

* This author was canon of *Leicester*, and wrote a sort of chronicle of English events down to his own time. As he is, in this part, often more circumstantial than any other writer, he will sometimes be more closely followed.

insensible to, the probable bad consequences of such an event. He continued still to issue orders in the king's name, and under the great signature. In these he exhibited more than common skill in confounding right with wrong; in blending the public interest with his own, and that of his creatures and dependants. One act is recorded, which proved very advantageous to the nation. The pope had long made his offer of the crown of Sicily to prince *Edmund*, *Henry's* second son, a pretence for pillaging the public, to support that claim. *Leicester* knew the people no longer retained their former reverence for the pontiff: and therefore, to the general satisfaction, issued a commission which authorised him, in the king's and his son's name, to renounce all right to that kingdom. This he caused the king himself to ratify, in a formal letter to the pope.

But the downfall of all his mock authority was now rapidly approaching. He did every thing possible to avert the storm, which his uncommon sagacity could not but foresee. He sent very strict orders to all subjects to oppose with all their might the liberated prince, the earl of Gloucester, and their followers, whom he honoured with the title of *traitors*, and *enemies* to their country. He sent to his son *Simon Montfort*, then engaged in the siege of *Pevensey* castle, in Suffex, to march immediately to his assistance. All the military tenants of the crown were summoned to meet the king at Gloucester; but, before this order could be obeyed, the city of Gloucester was taken by his active opponents. He found also on his march from *Hereford* to succour that place, all the bridges on the Severn broken down, to intercept him. All communication with *London*, which had been formerly his chief resource, being cut off, his only accessible ally was *Llewellyn*, prince of North Wales. To him he had recourse in this emergency, and prevailed on him to ravage the estates of Gloucester, in Glamorganshire, and to send him a body of Welch forces. Thus reinforced, he marched back to *Monmouth*, followed every where by detachments of the enemy. From *Monmouth* he proceeded to *Newport*, where he expected some vessels from *Bristol*, to enable him to pass the Severn. But Gloucester, by blocking up the mouth of the Avon, prevented all assistance from that quarter; and *Edward*, by forced marches, by night,

had got round to *Newport*, and only waited for day-light to attack his dispirited forces.

A battle would have been too hazardous in such a situation. He therefore withdrew, in the middle of a dark and stormy night, and took refuge in North Wales. From thence he passed, through woods and over mountains, once more to *Hereford*, where he determined to wait till he could find some means of repassing the Severn.

In the interim, young *Montfort*, who seems in activity to have vied with his fire, collected what forces he could, to the amount, says *Knighton*,* of twenty bannerets, and a great number of the commonalty; and began his march toward the west. In his progress, he took *Winchester* by storm, and was admitted, without opposition, into *Oxford* and *Northampton*: from which latter place, he proceeded directly to *Kenilworth*. Here he thought himself in sufficient security to give a little rest to his harried troops, and quartered them about the town and the vicinity, without much attention to a proper vigilance or discipline.

But *Edward*, his still more active adversary, was soon informed of his arrival, and of his negligence. He knew also of the intended junction with *Leicester*, and concluded that not a moment was to be lost in attempting to cut off this communication. *Knighton* informs us, that he maintained a female spy, of the name of *Margoth*; who by means of one *Ralph de Arderne*, then in the service of young *Montfort*, and probably her lover, obtained for him every intelligence he could desire. He departed from *Worcester* by night, with such force as he deemed sufficient, and halted in a deep valley near *Kenilworth*, which his spy had pointed out to him as a proper place to prepare for the attack. During this preparation a great clamour, which seemed to proceed from the enemy's camp, gave a sudden alarm to his little troop. Concluding that young *Montfort* had been apprized of the ambuscade, and

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* This author also affirms, that these troops were raised in the north: but that part of the kingdom was much devoted to the opposite interest.

was hastening to frustrate his intentions, in great haste and trepidation they drew up, in the best order they were able, and advanced to meet him. The alarm soon ceased, when they perceived the long baggage-waggons of young *Montfort's* army, coming forth in quest of provisions. These they immediately attacked; and, taking the escort prisoners, appropriated the horses, which they much wanted, to their own use. Proceeding onward, they surprised the enemy just at day-break, dispersed about in the town and adjacent convent, ere they were recovered from slumber sufficiently to see their danger; and many, says the old chronicler, were, on that occasion, plentifully *phlebotomised*.*

Fifteen standards were the trophies of this well-managed excursion, and a prodigious booty, which young *Montfort* had collected from the captured towns. The standards proved afterward of the highest utility to *Edward*. Among the prisoners were the earl of *Oxford*, *William de Montchenfy*, *Baldwin Wake*, *Hugh Neville*, *Adam de Neumarche*, and many other distinguished persons. Young *Montfort* himself escaped. He, with a few attendants, had passed the night in his camp,† which it was not judged expedient to attack.

There are few persons whom the author has consulted concerning the particulars immediately preceding the battle, but suppose that *Edward* marched immediately from *Kenilworth*, to the attack of *Evesham*. But all historians agree in asserting the contrary. We have even reason to suppose the prince was not informed of the old earl's removal to that place, till he had joined the rest of his forces at *Worcester*. *Knighton* asserts, that he staid two whole days at *Worcester* after his return, and afterward approached to *Evesham*, on the northern side, as if he had come from *Kenilworth*. The requisite intelligence between contending armies, by means of spies or reconnoitring parties, was then so ill supported, that it is highly probable the two armies effected their march, within a few miles of each other, without either party's
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* *Et erant multi minuti sanguine venæ.*

† *Knighton* probably means the castle; in which young *Montfort*, with the captive king of the Romans, now shut himself up.

being apprized of the matter. The rapid progress of both, at this period, must have given little time for any intelligence to arrive. At *Worcester*, it is certain, *Edward* first heard that his wily antagonist had passed the Severn, during his absence; and, after a very short stay at *Kemsey*, had removed in the night to *Evesham*, with the hope of speedily joining his son at *Kenilworth*.

Having received this intelligence, the prince once more departed from *Worcester*, with the greater part of his force, about sunset, on August 3, 1265. He directed his march, at first, toward *Bridgnorth*, and gave out that his design was to attack that place, then in the barons interest. This was merely a manœuvre, practised by this skilful general, to deceive the enemy's spies. After a march of a few miles, he suddenly faced about towards *Evesham*; which, lying at the distance of about fifteen miles, he could, by an easy progress, reach early in the following day. He made his appearance, on the heights above that town, pretty early on the fourth* of August; and, halting about two miles from it, drew up his army in three divisions. Of one of these he took charge himself; another he entrusted to the earl of Gloucester; and *Mortimer* is said to have led the third, as a body of reserve, in the rear. Aware that his army must seem to *Leicester* as on their march from *Kenilworth*, he foresaw the deception this circumstance would probably cause; and, farther to humour it, ordered the standards taken from young *Montfort* to be erected in the van. With all possible expedition he hastened to occupy the brow of the descent into the town, before the earl could recover from his mistake, or from the surprise which, on his recovery, such an unwelcome reality must occasion.

These precautions were as effectual to their purpose, as masterly in their design. The old earl was, as we shall find, completely deceived; and still lay, in the utmost security, at the Abbey, dreaming of nothing but his son's approach. — But before I enter on farther particulars, it may be requisite to submit

* Smollet affirms the battle was fought on August the *fifth*: in which case, *Edward* did not probably leave *Worcester* till the evening of the *fourth*. But Rapin and most other historians mention the *fourth* as the day of battle.

submit to the reader a sort of outline of the spot on which this important battle was decided. As it occupies a part of the prospect from the apartment in which I write, some minuter notices than are usual may reasonably be expected.

The military talents of *Simon Montfort* have been highly celebrated. Rabin, among other writers, greatly extols them. “He took,”—says that author—“no post, without providing against consequences, by securing a retreat.”—I do not pretend to skill enough of this species, to decide whether *Evesham* were that sort of post, or not: but it does not appear, to an unexperienced observer, as any other than a sort of *cul de sac*. Yet as *Leicester* could not intend to make that place the scene of battle, this oversight, if it be such, can prove no disparagement to his military capacity. From what follows the reader will easily discern, that few situations could be singled out where the conquering party might with better reason exclaim—*væ victis!**—than the northern approach to the town of *Evesham*.

The town itself lies in a deep and finely varied bottom. Northward a road runs from it into Warwickshire, along the ridge of a hill neither very high or very steep, yet with one pretty considerable ascent at about the distance of one mile. This acclivity was doubtless the spot on which the battle commenced, and where the main stress of it lay. The road afterward very gradually ascends to near the distance of one mile and a half from the town, where the present turnpike-gate is placed. On both sides of the road, after the first mentioned quick ascent, are level spaces of some extent, particularly to the eastward: but the ground, on each hand, soon descends rather abruptly, and with a broken surface. Just at the turnpike-gate, an ancient road, now in little use, but, as is reported, formerly the great road to the metropolis, branches eastward from the turnpike, down to the river. Opposite this is another road, still frequented, and leading westward to the city of *Worcester*. A little nearer the town, on the same side, is the spot called *Battle-well*, but which has nothing but a very confused tradition to support
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* Woe to the vanquished!

its claim to that appellation. The river Avon, running south of *Evesham*, flows, in a semicircle, at the bottom of the broken grounds, on both sides, and thus encloses a space of about a mile and an half, in its largest diameter.

From what has been previously advanced, it is evident that the road which branches westward, and leads, through part of the parish of *Fladbury*, to *Worcester*, must have been the way by which prince *Edward* approached to *Evesham*. This is now a turnpike road; and though but little frequented, in comparison of the great *London* road to the south of the town, is known to be of great antiquity. There is sufficient evidence to prove, that, at a place called *Chadbury*, (in ancient times *Chadelburi*,) where the hills contract greatly the level space by approaching the river, there formerly stood a *castle* to defend the pass.

There is also some reason to suppose, that this was the ancient road from *Worcester* to the *metropolis*; and probably the only one existing at the period in which the battle was fought. That it was, at one time, farther extended, its continuation, on the opposite side of the Warwickshire road, will plainly evince. In addition to this, I have myself been shewn, when the water was low, the piers and other manifest tokens of a broken bridge, at the very point where this continuation of it is intercepted by the river. This bridge, if its former existence be allowed, must have connected it with the parish of *Offenham*, which lies close on the opposite bank, and probably afforded a passage to the metropolis, through a more easy and level country than that through which the present great road passes.

This broken bridge, of which the existence is indisputable, might give rise to various conjectures that we have not, at present, even a tradition left to confirm. *Hollingshed* indeed asserts, that, immediately after *Edward's* escape, he gave orders that all the bridges in this country should be broken down, to prevent *Leicester's* surprising his party, before it had attained sufficient strength to oppose him. But other authors confine this circumstance merely to the bridges over the Severn. Neither does that in question seem so near to, what must then have appeared, the probable scene of action, as to have
been

been affected by this order. All things considered, it may not perhaps be deemed too wild a conjecture to suppose, that this very bridge was broken down by the prince, *immediately* before the battle; to prevent all possibility of the earl's escape to the metropolis, where lay his greatest strength; and to complete the snare in which he was involved.

Two circumstances may be adduced, which tend somewhat to confirm this conjecture. One of these, which relates to the evident marks of carnage near the site of this bridge, will hereafter be more fully noticed. The other is, — that no sufficient evidence can (I suppose) be brought to prove, that there was, at that period, any other regular passage from *Worcester* to the metropolis. The present great road, on the southern side of *Evesham*, is known to be of very modern date. There was, I have been informed, a rather more ancient road, that led from *Worcester*, through *Perthore* and *Hinton*, to *London*; but this, as it did not include *Evesham* in its course, is entirely out of the question. The two conjectures therefore, — that the road by which the prince approached to *Evesham* was then the *principal* passage from *Worcester* to that place, — and that its corresponding branch, over the bridge of *Offenham*, was then the *only* passage from *Evesham* to *London*, seem to carry equal probability, and, in fact, to support each other. — We have, it must not be concealed, sufficient proof from old records, that a bridge at *Evesham* had been, before, erected: but that it led to the metropolis, except by a very *indirect* progress, or afforded effectual means of escape, may very reasonably be called in question. — These circumstances have been detailed at some length, that the reader may be enabled to judge, for himself, of the probability of such unsupported conjectures, which seem, notwithstanding, of considerable importance to the narrative. — But to return: —

Prince *Edward* made his appearance on the heights, northward of the town, early in the morning; while *Leicester* hailed his approach, as the means of ensuing victory and triumph. But to prevent all possibility of a mistake, on the first appearance of an armed force so near him, he is reported to have sent an officer* very skilful in heraldry, to the top of the clock tower of the

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Abbey,

* Knighton says it was his barber.

Abbey, in order to certify himself, by the standards, of his son's approach. This man, having ascended the tower, plainly discerned several standards waving in the van, which bore the insignia of the *Montfort* party. He was about hastily to descend, and confirm his general's expectations: but still gazing on the troops, as they gradually approached, he soon discovered the unwelcome ensigns of *Mortimer* flying in the rear. He called aloud to the earl, who anxiously waited the event below: — *We are lost! These are not, as you suppose, your son's forces, but those of the prince, your bitterest enemy, — Leicester*, well aware of the extreme disadvantage of his situation, is said to have exclaimed: — *May God then receive our souls; our bodies are in the power of our enemies!*

The hurry and confusion that immediately ensued in *Evesham* and its environs, may be best imagined by those accustomed to such events. The troops* were in haste called forth; but to their leader all hope was utterly extinct. It is affirmed, that he ordered his men to make a sort of summary confession to the monks, and afterward attempted their encouragement in these words: — *Let all those who aspire to die for their country, its laws and liberties, instantly prepare for battle. Those who wish only for an inglorious existence are at full liberty to depart.* His desperation was probably visible in his countenance. His son *Henry Montfort* endeavoured to throw a gleam of hope on this dark shade of melancholy presage; but to no purpose. The old earl replied: — *This despair is not on my own account, my son! Your own, and your brother's pride and ambition have led us all to this dismal extremity. Nevertheless, I trust, I shall die in the cause of God and of justice.* — This was an awful moment! We hear this ambitious character, possibly from the effect of long habit, haranguing with all the generous and disinterested patriotism of an *Epaminondas*. We might reasonably expect some sincerity in the sentiments dictated by such a terrible conjuncture. But history affords too many examples of those, who having long deceived others, at length arrive at deceiving themselves; and wrap themselves up in the dark cloak of dissimulation, to the very last moment of their existence.

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* The number of forces, in either army, is very indistinctly to be ascertained from history. We may however suppose *Montfort's* army to have amounted to about seven thousand men, and the prince's to a considerably greater number.

It was some time after noon, or about one o'clock, before the earl could prepare for the reception of his unwelcome visitants. *Edward*, it is probable, allowed him full leisure to effect this; contented with the advantageous situation he occupied, and which we may suppose him unwilling to abandon. About two, the earl marched from the town with his forces drawn up, as some affirm, in a dense, circular body. The unfortunate *Henry*, much against his inclination, was obliged to appear in a very conspicuous part of their army. All historians agree that he was, on this occasion, dressed in *Leicester's* armour, and disguised in all his habiliments. The reasons for this step, though obvious, will hereafter be more fully displayed. Before they had entirely quitted the town, the Welch troops furnished by *Llewellyn*, and already sufficiently harrassed by hunger and fatigue, hastily took to flight; and attempting to cross the Avon, were many of them drowned, and the rest, according to the jocular *Knighton*,* *a second time baptized in that stream*. Both the example and the presage afforded by this event, were of the very worst kind. The earl, notwithstanding, proceeded with a resolute and determined countenance: but was not, we may reasonably presume, allowed to reach the brow of the first acclivity, before the attack began. *Knighton*, who lived much nearer the time of this event, and who from his local situation, not very remote from the spot, had better opportunities of information than most other historians, expressly affirms that *Edward*, on seeing *Leicester* approach from the town, hastened his march, that he might engage him before he *could reach it*.†

All historians unite their testimony, to prove this battle was distinguished by peculiar rage and ferocity. If we take into consideration the sentiments that must have actuated each party, in this contest, we shall not doubt it. Despair, from their hopeless situation; with the near prospect of total ruin

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* He says it was the river *Dee* in which they perished: but this, from the distance and situation of that river, is impossible. "*Antequam progressi sunt fugerunt Wallenses a Comite Simone, et in transundo flumen Dee multi submersi sunt, et reliqui denuo baptizati.*"

† *Festinavitque ut montis clivo ascensu primos belli ictus occupare possit.*

and extermination, must have disposed the earl's forces to sell their lives as dear as possible. On *Edward's* side, revenge; his father's captivity and disgrace; the total depression of all his magnificent expectations; with, at this arduous moment, the near prospect of their revival, with increased splendour and dignity, must have added inconceivable fervour to his natural courage and activity.

Early in the conflict, the slaughter of great numbers of *Montfort's* troops, seemed to indicate the event of the battle. But no man deserted his post. Death or victory were the only alternatives. Enclosed by the nature of the place, within a very small space of ground; and opposed, according to the custom of the times, man against man, no quarter was allowed by one party, or accepted by the other. As the day declined, the weary forces of *Leicester* began to slacken their efforts; and it was then an event happened which would grace a *romance*, equally with a *true recital* of events. The king, exposed in the front of the battle, and doubtless combating with no great ardour against his own party, was, by a common soldier, wounded in the shoulder, and struck to the ground. The man was proceeding to dispatch his royal antagonist, when *Henry* uttered the simple, yet striking expression, which all historians have thought worthy their particular notice: — *Do not kill me. I am Henry of Winchester, your king.* He was, observes the old annalist, a simple man, and not over-warlike. The expression renders the remark entirely useless; but it saved his life. *Adam de Monte alto*, or *Monthaut*, hearing it, ran to his succour. A rumour of the strange accident pervaded the troops, in spite of the tumult and hurry of the fight, and reached his son *Edward*. He rushed to the assistance of his father, thus strangely disguised and endangered, and having provided for his safety by a guard, and hastily implored his blessing, left him to reanimate his astonished forces.

But during this short interval, a blow had been struck which at once decided this obstinate contest. *Simon Montfort*, with his son *Henry*, and a few of his most faithful adherents, was now struggling, on foot, against adverse fate, and the near approach of inevitable destruction. His horse had been killed under him, and he was nearly surrounded by an host of enraged enemies.

mies. Perceiving all resistance useless, he exclaimed to his opponents : — *Is there no mercy among you ?** The reply was prompt : — *What mercy for a traitor !* He is reported to have again uttered the exclamation used on *Edward's* first appearance : — *Then may God have mercy on our souls ; our bodies must perish !* No great respect was paid either to his piety, or his despair. He, his son, and small party of attendants were soon after closed with, and cut to pieces.

Edward was soon informed of this fortunate event ; and victory, from that moment, became certain. The adverse army was totally dismayed by the loss of their chief, and fled in every direction. The slaughter, on all sides, was dreadful. If any probability may be allowed to the conjecture, that the bridge at *Offenham* was destroyed immediately before the conflict, we may imagine great multitudes, ignorant of the demolition, to have attempted to escape that way, and perished either in the water or by the sword. The reservoir, now called *Battle-well*, is traditionally reported to have been so choaked with carnage, as to have remained long useless to its frequenters. The whole period of time occupied by this contest was seven hours ; from two in the afternoon, to nine at night : — but of these at least two hours may be appropriated to the pursuit and slaughter.

The number of the slain is not well ascertained ; but it could not be less than near three thousand of the commonalty. The principal barons who here met their fate were, according to *Knighton*, *Simon Montfort* and his son *Henry*, *Hugh le Despenser*, *Ralph Basset*, *Thomas de Esterlye*. *William de Mandaville*, *John de Beauchamp*, *Roger de Roule*, and *Guy de Baliol*. To these *Hollingshed* adds, *Sir William York*, *Walter de Creppings*, *Roger St. John*, and *Robert Tregoz*. *Guy de Baliol* or *Balliof*, a foreigner, was so mangled by his wounds, that they were obliged to inter him in all his habiliments ; and thus, of all these

* This does not seem conformable to the idea generally formed of his character. As for the exclamations which follow, they seem to me little *heightenings* adopted by the old annalist, (*Knighton*,) and if not *real*, extremely *probable*. But father *Daniel's* assertion does not merit this indulgence. He affirms that — At the time of *Montfort's* death, there happened such a dreadful storm of thunder and lightening, and such a thick darkness in the air, as were more terrible to his party, than the death of their chief.

these warriors, appears most likely to be the man whose remains, cloathed in armour, were lately dug up at *Evesham*. It could not, as some suppose, be *Montfort* himself; as we are assured, on all hands, that his head was cut off after the fight; and, with a wanton barbarity uncommon even in those times, sent, with certain shameful appendages, to the wife of *Mortimer*, at *Wigmore* castle.

The *Evesham* monks who had, we may presume, during the contest, prayed most fervently for the success of their favourite, had now nothing to do but prepare for his obsequies. *Simon Montfort*, and most of the other chieftains of the party, were buried in the Abbey church. *Henry* himself is said to have assisted at the funeral of the earl. It is rather remarkable, that the arms* of several of these fallen heroes, stained on glass, are now to be seen in the east window of the church of *Fladbury*, where the author resides. Some have imagined they were there buried: but the most probable method of accounting for this circumstance is—that these arms were removed from the Abbey-windows, by some curious person, at the demolition.

“And now” (says *Camden*) “instantly, as though the fink of mischief had been cleansed, a welcome peace which he (*Simon Montfort*) had banished, did every where appear.” But this is asserting too much. Though great things had been done, much still remained to be effected. So great indeed and various were the difficulties through which *Edward* made his way to the throne, that it is impossible, notwithstanding his too great severity, and some subsequent failures in his foreign undertakings, to deny him the first rank among the heroic monarchs of this nation. The events immediately succeeding the battle, scattered so widely over the pages of history, may be compressed within a very small compass, and are judged necessary for the completion of the present design.

The

* These arms are:—1. Quarterly Argent and Gules fretté, Or: over all a bendlet Sable. *Le Despenfer*.—2. Gules a lion rampant queue fourché Argent. *Montfort*.—3. Mortimer with an escutcheon, Argent.—4. Two bars, and a quarter Gules. *Bosco* or *Corbett*.—5. Bende of ten Or and Azure. *Montfort*.—6. Gules a fesse countercomponne Argent and Sable between six crosses Or. *Boteler*.

The first use *Henry* seemed to make of his deliverance from captivity, and his victory at *Evesham*, was the persecution of his enemies, and the confiscation of their estates. It was thought requisite for *security*, to root out even the smallest fibres of commotion. A parliament was called, of a very different complexion from the preceding one, which seconded all his designs. The citizens of *London* were doomed to forfeit all their privileges; to have their gates demolished; their magistrates and ornaments abolished; and, in a word, to submit entirely to the king's mercy. This was obtained only by an exorbitant sum of money.

The barons, above all, were in a state of confusion and despair, which it would be difficult to describe. *Simon Montfort*, *Leicester's* eldest son, on whom they now directed their eyes as a chieftain, thought it expedient to take measures for his own safety. With this intent, he set at liberty, without a ransom, *Richard* the king's brother, who had, all this time, been his prisoner at *Kenilworth* castle. His example was followed by many other persons, who hoped to make their peace, by restoring the prisoners they had taken in the battle of *Lewes*.

But these good offices availed little with *Henry* in their favour. Young *Montfort*, perceiving his doom resolved on, left *Kenilworth*, with a sufficient garrison, for the isle of *Axholme*, in the marshes of Lincolnshire. This seemed so safe an asylum for his party, that they flocked daily in great numbers to his standard. *Edward* marched thither, without delay; and though the place was rendered almost impregnable by its situation, seconded by every effort of art, this prince, with his usual activity and perseverance, surmounted every obstacle in his way. After a vigorous defence they were obliged to surrender, in the beginning of the year 1266, on condition only of their lives being preserved. All other matters were referred to the arbitrement of *Richard*, king of the Romans, and prince *Edward*. The former assured *Henry*, that the garrison of *Kenilworth* had, soon after the affair at *Evesham*, resolved upon his destruction; and that it was entirely owing to young *Montfort* that his life was spared. He therefore intreated the king would grant him a free pardon. This is a pleasing trait of gratitude and honour, which the savageness

savageness of the period renders still more interesting. *Henry* however, by the advice, as is said, of the earl of Gloucester, (who had some reason to hate the *Montfort* family,) resolved on his banishment. A pension of five hundred marks per annum were offered, if he would give up the possession of *Kenilworth* castle. But this it was not in his power to perform. The garrison would hearken to no mediation; and young *Montfort* joined himself to some pirates of the cinque-ports, and, for some time, led a life of violence and rapine. It being very evident that the inhabitants of these ports were abettors of his outrages, *Edward* was deputed to chastise them: but he contrived to reduce them to their allegiance, by milder measures. By promising an amnesty, and a confirmation of their privileges, they returned to their duty, and took a new oath of allegiance to their sovereign.

But *Kenilworth* still defied all the efforts of *Henry*, and his heroic son. *Henry Hastings* and *William de Pattishulle*, who commanded there, relied so far on the strength of the fortifications, and of the garrison which consisted of seventeen hundred men, and depended so much on the promise of a relief by young *Montfort*, that they would hear of no terms of surrender. There was also a strong body of rebels in the northern counties. *Henry*, son of *Richard*, was detached against these northern free-booters. He surprised and totally defeated them: but could not secure their chiefs; who, joining the late malecontents at *Axholme*, took refuge in the isle of *Ely*, in Cambridgehire, and committed horrid ravages in all the neighbouring counties.

The celebrated encounter of *Edward* with the free-booter *Adam Gurdon*, happened toward the end of this year, 1266.—Those historians, particularly the *Scottish* writers, who would deny their conqueror every virtue and accomplishment, cannot surely, on perusing this romantic incident, withhold from him the praise of singular valour and prowess; and, where not too far exasperated by opposition, of the most heroic generosity.

Kenilworth castle was at length taken, in the beginning of the following year. The garrison had been long so reduced by famine, as to be obliged to eat their horses; and came forth with the appearance of *spectres*, rather than

than *men*. Nor would they, even now, surrender, till forty days had been allowed them, to wait for the succour which they vainly expected from young *Montfort*.

These advantages, and the hope of still greater against the *Ely* rebels, elated the king, as usual, beyond all bounds. The promises which his son had formerly made to the earl of Gloucester, on his escape, were now entirely neglected. The conduct of this nobleman, every-where apparently whimsical and inconstant, seems here to have been so in the extreme. It may, however, be easily reconciled to the rules of justice and sound policy. He resolved to keep the king to his engagements, by throwing additional weight into the scale of the opposite party. He sent word to the malcontents, and to *Llewellyn* prince of Wales, that he would endeavour to give them assistance. It was a dangerous experiment; and he was indebted only to good fortune for its success in the smallest degree. *Henry* instantly took the alarm: but did not think proper to abandon his enterprise at *Ely*, where he was fully employed. The earl, taking advantage of his absence from the capital, marched thither with a considerable body of forces, and entered the city before the inhabitants knew what to make of his intentions. The pope's legate retired to the Tower; which the earl besieged, and quickly obliged to surrender. He then threw off the mask by publishing a manifesto, declaring — that he took up arms only to procure tolerable conditions for the malecontents, and to oblige *Henry*, and his son, to perform their engagements.

The king then, in great haste, sent to prince *Edward*, in the northern parts of the kingdom, and, joining their forces, they posted themselves at *Stratford*. It was now that the earl of Gloucester found he had deceived himself, in a point of the highest consequence. He had reckoned greatly on his own popularity; but found that of *Edward* was far superior. This prince's reputation for bravery drew great numbers to his standard; and *Gloucester*, daily abandoned by some of his forces, was at length obliged to take refuge in the intercession of the king of the Romans. That good prince, exerting himself in his favour, obtained his pardon, on condition of his laying down arms; and also an amnesty for the city of London, which would otherwise have,

once more, been severely punished. He farther extended his good offices to the rebels at *Ely*: but, on this head, *Henry* and his son remained inexorable. These malecontents being now the only object, were vigorously assaulted; and, having no resource left, were soon obliged to submit, with the condition only of their lives being spared.

Peace was now speedily to be restored to the harrassed kingdom. *Llewellyn*, the only enemy of its tranquility, soon after, in the end of 1267; sent ambassadors to sue for it. It was granted, on his promising to pay the sum of twenty-five thousand marks, and to do homage for his principality. — All being quiet at home, *Edward*, and *Henry** son to the king of the Romans, received the cross, in the beginning of the following year, from the legate *Ottoboni*. The earls of Pembroke and Warwick, with upwards of one hundred and twenty knights, and great numbers of the people, followed their romantic example. *St. Louis*, king of France, was to command, in chief: but it was happy for *Edward* that he did not, in all respects, follow the fortunes of his leader. In order to obtain satisfaction for a certain tribute withheld from his brother, the king of Sicily, *Louis* laid siege to *Tunis*; with a resolution not to quit it till he had obtained his end. This he effected: but, just as he was leaving the African shore, the plague broke out among his troops, and carried off not only the greater part of these, but also most of their leaders, and the good *Louis* himself. Whoever consults the records of his reign, will perceive that this worthy character had a much better claim to the title of saint, than most of those who have been honoured with that appellation.

Edward having no concern with this affair, wintered in Sicily; with intent of pursuing his voyage to Palestine, early in the following spring. Though
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* This young prince soon after met with a very disastrous fate. Passing through *Viterbo*, in his way to Guienne, *Guy de Montfort*, son of the late earl of Leicester, encountered him as he was entering a church, and murdered him at the foot of the altar, to revenge his father's death at *Evesham*. Neither *Henry* nor his father, *Richard* king of the Romans, were in that battle: but this tragical consequence of it proved the cause of the death also (through grief) of the amiable, but not very heroic *Richard*.

the death of *Louis* had rendered him hopeless of much success, he thought it incumbent on him to perform his vow. Thither he repaired, in spring, 1271; and after performing several exploits, of more brilliancy than advantage to the cause, met with those romantic incidents which have afforded a subject to so many romances, dramas, and historical paintings. Finding however little could be effected with his small force, he resolved to return home; and, while on his voyage, heard of *Henry's* decease. His character had been raised so high by his many heroic actions, that he was received every where, on his return, with exclamations of triumph; but no where with more than in his own kingdom. He was soon after crowned; and during a reign of thirty-five years, maintained a uniform character of magnanimity and the love of justice, but a little too much stained by acts of severity.

THUS ended this memorable contest between *licentious ambition*, and the lust of *despotic power*: and thus does providence, sporting with the designs of purblind mortals, often produce the highest good from the worst intentions. The whole was a game *perpetually playing*, and, in all appearance, *perpetually to be played*. It consisted merely of the selfish struggles of party. But here a crown, not an inferior office dependent on it, was the object. As the prize was richer than common, so did the competitors display a more than common proportion of treachery, fraud, and cruelty. The noblest advantage to which a generous people could aspire,—the right of the commonalty to interfere with moderation in affairs of state,—and the full establishment of their liberties, before only indeterminately sketched out in the charters of *John*, were the *result* of these fierce contentions. But no thanks are due to the actors in them: they served but their own ends. We should rather look up to that *Being* who, by second causes, that often to our weak sight appear both contradictory and inadequate, disposes of all those events which we often struggle, in vain and bloody contests, to oppose.

Though the barons originally took up arms in a cause both just and necessary,

cessary, yet it cannot be supposed that the ultimate designs of their leader tended to the public good ; or that he cared for any kind of liberty, but that of *tyrannising* himself over his equals and inferiors. Many, I am aware, have espoused a different opinion : and such have an equal right to maintain and assert it. But as *motives* are, in most cases, hidden from our observation, *actions* will best decide on the *man*. A short but impartial abstract from the life of this problematic character will determine the controversy, better than any argument which either party can adduce.

Simon de Montfort was the son of the famous general of the same name, employed in the war against the Albigenes. From his office in this war, which had, with the bigots of those days all the merits of a *real* crusade, he was distinguished by the title of the *most holy Count* ; and thus left to his posterity an hereditary claim to the veneration of the monks. He was killed, in the year 1218, by a stone thrown from the walls of *Tholouse*, which he was then besieging.* Two other sons are noticed by an ancient historian,† who tells us that, after the death of *Simon de Montfort*, his son and heir *Amalric* raised the siege of *Tholouse*, and carried his father's body, when embowelled, to *Carcassone*, for interment. In a subsequent siege, *Guido*, count de Bigorra, the brother of *Amalric*, and another son of *Simon*, was also killed. From this we may infer, that the *Simon de Montfort*, who afterward took the lead in English politics, was probably the *third* and *youngest* son of this famous general.

For the earlier incidents of his life, the records of a foreign country must be consulted. His first appearance in our own was about the year 1237 : when, having abandoned the French court in disgust, we find him very assiduously and successfully cultivating the favour of *Henry* the third.

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* His epitaph, written by *Roger de Insula*, or *De l'Isle*, runs thus :

Datur item fato, casuque cadunt iterato
Simone sublato ; *Mars*, *Paris*, atque *Cato*.

† M. Paris Hist. MS. cited by Usher.

The very first year after his arrival, an opportunity offered, when it appeared to our versatile courtier more advantageous to hazard the loss of this favour, than securely to retain it. The illustrious earl of Pembroke had been some time dead, and left *Henry's* sister a widow. *Montfort*, who was probably of an agreeable person and address, perceived the advantage it might give him to be allied to one so nearly related to the king. Knowing however, that if he proceeded openly, his presumptuous ambition would meet with derision, rather than success, he contrived, in secret, so far to ingratiate himself with this lady,* that the king, soon after, found it necessary to have them privately married in his chapel. *Richard*, the king's brother, was highly exasperated by this affront; and represented to *Henry* the disgrace of her marrying a younger brother, of so inferior a family. The king was obliged to explain. He convinced *Richard* of the absolute necessity of the marriage: adding that it was already solemnized, and the princess *far gone with child*. *Montfort* finding the court a little irksome to him, at this period, carried his wife to *Rome*; where he got the pope to confirm this alliance. He then returned to England, and appeared at court, as much in favour with the monarch as before. This circumstance, more than any other, served to raise a violent clamour against foreigners about the king's person; and it is curious to find, some years after, when *Montfort* had changed his party, this very man, now the *object* of it, had become the chief *promoter* of this clamour against foreign influence.

In the year 1239, he was created earl of Leicester.† A few days after *Henry* had shewed him this mark of his favour, with a surprising degree of childish absurdity, he accused *Montfort*, in public, of having debauched his sister, and bribed the pope to confirm the marriage. The reproach was a little *unseasonable*: but the earl, dreading farther resentment, set out for France

* This good lady had, after the death of her husband, made a vow of *perpetual chastity*.

† It is affirmed, by a late historian, [Smollet] that *Simon Montfort* inherited the honour of *Hinckley*, the *stewardship* of England, and the county of *Leicester*, in right of his mother, who was daughter and co-heiress of *Robert Fitz-parnel*, earl of Leicester.

France the same day, with the princess his wife; well knowing the king's wrath would be as suddenly appeased, as it had been unexpectedly awakened.

“*Henry*, who”—says Rapin—“could neither love nor hate long,” recalled him from thence, in 1240. The earl, soon after, set out on an expedition to Palestine, where he remained but a short time. His disposition had little of the romantic cast. A court beset by contending parties, where, by intrigues, he could most successfully promote his own interest and ambitious views, was the proper field for this busy character. We hear little of him during *Henry's* inglorious campaign in France, or any other transaction, for some years; till, in 1249, some of the Gascon nobility having revolted, he was sent over to Guienne, or Gascony, to reduce them, and acquired great reputation by his prudent and successful management of the affair. *Henry* was much elated by this good fortune; and concluded the chastisement of the Gascons would serve as a perpetual example to his English subjects, and prevent their even murmuring at any despotic measures which he might adopt. On this presumption, he received *Leicester*, at his return, in 1251, with the most extravagant honours, and the most profuse rewards. This conduct exceedingly heightened the general odium both against the king himself, and this favoured foreigner, as, at the same time, this injudicious monarch seemed to undervalue any services performed by his native subjects. Thus was the earl himself the chief cause of that unworthy conduct, which he afterward made the pretence of all his rebellious measures.

But the subtle Gascons were, about this time, near outwitting their artful governor. Deputies arrived, the same year, from Guienne, accusing him of the most unjust and scandalous oppressions. He was, in this instance, as will appear by the sequel, rather the *injured* than *injurious* party. *Leicester* waited on the king to justify himself, and denied every particular laid to his charge. He wondered the king would listen to the frivolous complaints of the Gascon rebels, against a man who, in a post where others were used to enrich themselves and their creatures, had served him faithfully, and expended great part of his estate in his office. *Henry* assured him that he gave no credit to these accusations: that, on the contrary, he had resolved to send commis-
sioners

tioners to Guienne, to acquire thorough information of the conduct of these artful rebels. To convince him further of his good opinion, he made the earl a second present, and ordered him to be in readiness to return to his government.

While *Leicester* was in preparation, the Gascons, informed of his intended reinstatement, deputed the archbishop of *Bordeaux*, to renew their accusation and complaints. The commissioners, who had been sent to Guienne on enquiries, returned, while this prelate was in *London*. Their report was, — that the earl had indeed used some of the Gascon nobility rather harshly: but, as far as they could find, according to their deserts. This report might have acquitted *Leicester*, at any other period: but *Henry*, who was unable to judge for himself, had, in the interval, been gained over by the bishop of *Bordeaux*, and suddenly started aside into the opposite extreme. He had been assured by that prelate, — that if *Leicester* should return to Guienne, that province must be irrecoverably lost. This idea made so deep an impression on the king, that he resolved to sacrifice the earl, to preserve, if possible, the affections of the Gascons. He ordered *Leicester's* accusation to be brought before the peers, and determined to use all his influence to procure his condemnation. The whole kingdom, no less than the earl himself, was astonished at this unexpected change. But this active and politic statesman took, perhaps the only measure, that could have prevented his utter ruin. He found means to gain over *Richard* the king's brother, the earl of Gloucester, and most of the powerful party in opposition to the court. Relying on their support, on the day appointed, he appeared with much confidence before the court, and justified himself, with so much force and strength of evidence, that his accuser the archbishop was extremely puzzled how to proceed. Whenever he opened his mouth to maintain his assertions, he found himself interrupted by a repetition of *Leicester's* arguments from some one or other of the barons, now become his friends. It was the king's turn now to wonder and become indignant. He could not refrain from shewing his displeasure, and using several very harsh expressions. *Leicester* finding his justification complete, now improved his victory, and began to boast his services; calling on *Henry*, with much arrogance, to keep his word with respect to
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the promised reward. A curious dialogue ensued. The king replied, — *he did not think it necessary to keep his word with a traitor.* The earl, enraged beyond all bounds, told him plainly, — *he lied*: adding that, *were he not a king, he would make him repent his words.* *It is not possible,* continued *Leicester*, *to suppose, that such a prince as you are can ever practise confession.* Yes, replied Henry, *I am a Christian, and confess often.* To what end, said the earl, *without repentance of former offences?* *I repent,* answered Henry, *of nothing so much, as having lavished my favours on a man like you, with so little gratitude, and so much insolence and brutality.* — The king then gave orders to have him seized: but finding his friends preparing to assist him, he was himself seized with a most unkingly trepidation, and desisted from his purpose. He had even the weakness to allow of an application in the earl's favour, and became, to outward appearance, entirely reconciled, on very trifling satisfaction. But this insolence sunk so deeply in his mind, that he could never afterward even *see* this former favourite, without betraying some emotion. — We cannot, after perusing such a passage, wonder at any of the strange events of this reign; and Rapin, after recording it, very judiciously remarks that — “no one would believe it to be fact, were not all historians unanimous in its attestation.”

From this period, *Leicester* may be considered as having changed his party. He was, in the year 1252, sent back to Guienne; but with a design rather to keep him out of mischief, than to promote his interest. Soon after, this dutchy was given to *Edmund*, the king's youngest son. The Gascons rejoiced much in this alteration; and having no longer reason to fear a man, now speedily to be recalled, laid so many snares in his way, that it required all his sagacity to escape them. He contrived however to make them sensible of his displeasure, before he left the province.

In the following year, 1253, the conduct of these Gascons plainly evinced that they were determined to rebel, and that the cause of their former complaints was merely an apprehension that *Leicester's* vigilance and activity would disappoint their intentions. He was no sooner recalled,* than a plot was discovered to deliver up that province to the king of Castile. This affair, which had

* He had retired into France, immediately after his resignation.

had very troublesome consequences, is no otherwise connected with my subject, than by the circumstance of *Leicester's* offering his services to the king, at the close of this year ; and his marching some troops, at his own expence, into the province. His arrival, added to a report that *Alphonso*, king of Castile, was in private treaty with *Henry* to betray them, produced a great effect, and they soon after returned to their obedience. This action has a good, and generous appearance : but whether the motive were revenge on the Gascons, or gratitude to *Henry*, it would be difficult, as well as rash, to decide.

In the year 1258, we find the name of *Simon Montfort*, as chairman of the committee, appointed to draw up the famous articles of the *Oxford* parliament. These articles met with considerable opposition. Earl *Warrenne* plainly refused to sign them. Prince *Edward*, who had before sworn to their observance, endeavoured afterward to retract. *Henry*, son to the king of the Romans, withheld his assent, till they had been approved by his father. *Leicester*, ever arrogant and presumptuous, gave him to understand, that, if he did not unite in these measures, he should not keep possession of a foot of land in the kingdom. *William de Valence*, the king's half-brother, against whom these new regulations were particularly levelled, declaring he would not sign such articles as tended to diminish, or rather annul, the royal prerogative, was threatened by *Leicester*, with a resumption of all the grants he held from the crown. When he observed, — *that he knew how to defend his property*, — *Leicester* informed him, — *his head should pay for his disobedience*. *William*, and his brother *Aymer*, chose rather to banish themselves the kingdom, than either sign these articles, or incur the danger of a refusal.

Henry, thus stripped of his authority, both feared and hated *Leicester*, in the extreme. He was obliged to ratify the *Oxford* provisions, though they expressly deprived him of all his prerogatives : but he could not, on some occasions, help shewing both his terror and his resentment. One day, as he was going from the Tower by water, a violent storm arose, which obliged him to land at the nearest place of shelter. This happened to be Durham-house, then belonging to *Leicester*. The earl came out to receive him, and, observing his perturbation, enquired if he was afraid of the thunder and

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lightening,

lightening, adding that — *there was no danger, as the storm was nearly past. No, no, said Henry, the storm is not over: but, by God's head, I am more afraid of thee, than of all the thunder and lightening in the universe.*

The king had indeed reason to fear this violent and encroaching subject. It appears plainly, from our history, that the barons, under his guidance, had resolved never to lay down their authority, even after all the purposes, for which it had been assumed, were effected. *Richard* the king's brother, about this time, wrote to them that he designed to return into England, to assist them in appeasing the commotions of the kingdom. The answer was: — *That they would never suffer him to return into the kingdom, unless he swore to observe the statutes of Oxford.* *Richard* received the deputies, who brought this imperious message, with equal haughtiness. He informed them, that, — *he thought it very strange the barons should thus new-model the government, without his concurrence; and protested — he would neither take the oath they required, nor desist from his intentions of coming to England.* The barons then equipped a fleet to dispute his passage: but *Richard*, giving way to necessity, and believing, at the same time, that his presence was necessary at home, rendered it useless by consenting to sign the articles. He came to *Dover* and took the oath, in the presence of the king, and a great number of the barons who went to meet him.

But in the year 1260, a jealousy and misunderstanding broke out among the barons themselves, on account of their authoritative leader. He begun now to usurp *all* the power delegated to the twenty-four commissioners, and was even suspected of aiming at the sovereign power. The earl of Gloucester, to form a party against him, spread a report, which he doubtless did not himself credit, that *Leicester* was in league with prince *Edward*, and was endeavouring to place him on the throne, during his father's life. Poor *Henry*, then at *St. Omers*, was so grievously alarmed by this report, that he would not for some time venture to return to England, lest his life, or, at least, his liberty should be attempted. But prince *Edward*, who harboured no such black intentions, fully justified himself to his affrighted sire. Gloucester, finding this indirect mode would not succeed, attacked *Leicester* in a more open way.

way. He accused him of several misdemeanors committed both in England and in Guienne, and demanded a day should be appointed, for him to prove these charges. *Leicester* appeared, on the day fixed, with such confidence and apparent innocence, that *Gloucester* shrunk from the task he had imposed upon himself, and required longer time: alledging that his witnesses were not all prepared. The king of the Romans, the general reconciler, made up this quarrel; very much, as it afterward appeared, contrary to his own interest and security. He went still farther:—by softening and moderating some of the offensive articles, he undertook, and in some measure succeeded in, effecting a *general* reconciliation. But *Leicester* could ill brook this proceeding: it went directly against all his plans; and he retired to France in great disgust. As he could not openly assign his motive for this step, he pretended that he ought not to trust a prince, who never hesitated at a breach of faith if he thought it would tend to his own advantage. This happened at the end of the year 1262.

In the following year, his party beginning again to stir, (the king's absence in Guienne giving them a favourable opportunity for their cabals,) *Leicester* returned; and from that moment we may date the commencement of those troubles which so long harraressed this unfortunate country. All the transactions of this ambitious character during that period have been already so fully detailed, that it will be improper farther to notice more than two; both of a very particular cast and complexion.

The famous tournament appointed by *Leicester's* direction, in the beginning of the year 1265, is one of these singular manœuvres. *Gloucester* saw this festival in no other light, but that of a snare laid for his liberty, if not his life; and, though Rapin does not notice some essential circumstances in this affair, we cannot doubt but it was meant as such. Other historians, almost unanimously, inform us, that—on *Gloucester's* not appearing at this tournament, *Leicester* prevailed on the young nobility who were assembled for other purposes, to proceed directly against him to the marches of Wales; in hope of taking him by surprise. He was luckily upon his guard: but this

is such a dark piece of treachery and dirty knavery, as plainly shews the contriver was neither fit to rule, or even to exist.

Another, of no very dissimilar nature, was the last action of *Leicester's* life: — the remarkable circumstance of his dressing the captive *Henry* in his own armour, and placing him in the front of an army hostile to himself. For this, three motives may be reasonably assigned: either of which a man of honour, or even true courage, would spurn from his imagination. He must either have intended, by this trick, to effect the speedy destruction of the king; (which in fact was very near taking place;) — or, he must have supposed, in case of a discovery, such an incident would check the ardour of his opponent's troops; — or lastly, and most probably, he hoped to keep open an opportunity for his own escape, if it should prove a measure of expedience. But from all these motives, uncorrupted nature revolts with indignation. No valid arguments can be adduced to prove, that honour and common honesty should ever be separated from the politics, either of peace, or war: and those who attempt to disunite them, or palliate their effects when thus disunited, deserve worse of the human race than he who should recommend even *suicide* as a laudable example.

The character of *Simon Montfort* is no uncommon one, nor anywhere of difficult solution. Ambition and self-interest were the ruling passions; and these he pursued through right and wrong, and over obstacles which common minds could not contemplate without horror and amazement. To these, he brought great abilities, and the most daring courage. When superior talents and equal villany are thus united, they, as in the present case, commonly prove the greatest bane of social order, and the scourge of the country which they inhabit.

At the same time, it must not be dissimbled, that there is no character concerning which both our historians and subsequent writers have more widely differed. To some he has appeared the *Cataline*: to others the *Brutus*, of his age. Though it must be easily discerned to which party the author's opinion inclines, he will not attempt to decide on his *political* merits; but,
from

from the very sufficient evidence already collected, leave the reader to form his own opinion on the subject. At least, it must be owned that *gratitude* was not the most eminently conspicuous among his virtues; as the very monarch he persecuted was the entire author of his fortunes, and the first cause of his ability to effect his own subsequent captivity and disgrace. One thing is certain,—that had not the vigilant and dauntless *Edward* then existed, *Leicester's* party must have prevailed: and, in that case, what form the English government would, by this time, have assumed, is beyond the skill of the profoundest politician, with any confidence, to determine.

THE local memorials of this important battle are but few, and those so entirely dependant on tradition, that the reader must be left to reject or admit them, as they seem to possess more or less probability. The place called *Battle-well*, is among the principal of these memorials. It lies in a fort of ravine, between two quick descending banks, a little more than a mile northward of the town. At present, there is nothing to be seen but a reservoir of considerable dimensions, but little depth; constructed of clay, and covered with turf. It seems generally empty of water, except at those times when its *general* abundance must render such a receptacle entirely useless. A *battle-axe* of the ancient form was, some years ago, dug up near this spot. It was a good while in the possession of a gentleman of *Evesham*; but, after his death, fell into various hands, and is not now to be found. This place is considerably northward of the descent, where the battle began: but, in the latter part of the struggle, havock and slaughter must have diffused themselves as widely as the confined nature of the ground would admit of.

There is a low piece of meadow ground, close to the remains of the bridge of *Offenham*, and planted round with willows, which still retains the appellation of *deadman's ait*. Here, (as I was informed by a creditable farmer who rents the land,) at the time these willows were planted, innumerable bones, which seemed equally diffused wherever the surface was broken, were, but few

few years since, discovered. On a piece of arable land, a little to the west of this meadow, where lately a brick-kiln was erected, the same circumstance took place ; both at the formation of the kiln, and on smoothing the surface, after its removal. A former supposition, — that an attempt to escape this way was made by some of *Montfort's* troops, who might be ignorant of the demolition of the bridge, will plainly enough account for this congestion of bones. But there are various other conjectures equally probable. It may have been used as a place of burial for the commonalty, after the engagement. Or, which is not less probable, as *Twynyford*, a place in former ages of some account, but now no longer existing, is within a few paces of this spot, it may formerly have served as a burial place to that village, in times of which we retain no memorials.

A little higher up, and just on the northern edge of the old road leading down to the river, a stone of about six feet in height, and apparently squared by art, is fixed erect in the ground. No traces of any inscription on it are to be found. But it has been perforated obliquely, and, in the hole thus made, some remains of lead may be discerned. The place and figure of this stone have occasioned many to suppose it a memorial of the battle, and it has even, as I have heard, been described and engraved as such. But its situation is surely too far from the spot, where the main effort of the battle evidently lay. To obviate this objection, it has been observed, — that it might be erected to mark the spot in which the battle was finally decided, by the slaughter of the runaways. To this the multitude of bones, scattered all around, may seem to afford some probability. There are however other uses, more obvious and less conjectural, to be assigned for this remarkable stone. The first, and that suggested by the situation of it, is, — that it may have been a boundary stone between the parish of *Evesham*, which terminates here-about, and that of *Lench-wick*. But no one that I have spoken with has been able to confirm this supposition ; which, were it merely a parish-boundary, there must be numbers competent to perform. I therefore rather conclude it to have been a very ancient boundary of the lands formerly possessed by the Abbey; and to have existed, on that spot, long before the battle was fought. The reader will remember, that the ancient charter of the

two

two kings begins with marking out the boundaries from *Twyford*, which, though now only an orchard, still retains its name, and lies close to this stone. That it has ever been a gateway as some affirm, alledging — that such erections for the purpose are frequent in the stony parts of Gloucestershire, is entirely discredited both by the form and the situation of this singular stone.

Tradition further asserts, — that within the memory of the older inhabitants of *Evesham*, the stump of a very ancient hawthorn tree was grubbed up, near the above stone, which had, in all periods since the battle, been dignified with the title of the *Council-bush*. Prince *Edward*, as is affirmed, previous to the engagement, held a council of war under the shade of this very tree. There is an apparent anachronism in the very face of this assertion. One would reasonably conclude not only that the tree itself, but its very roots, must have disappeared from the surface of the earth, during such an interval. But on the other hand, the thing is possible; and, allowing the tree and its appendages to have vanished, it is not unlikely but the spot where it stood may have retained its name. It is also by no means improbable, that *Edward*, who, we are informed, arrived near *Evesham* by sunrise, might allow some time for deliberation in a spot totally hidden, by its situation, from the view of the town.

One more circumstance, of rather a ludicrous nature, shall be mentioned; though it may serve only to excite a smile at the expence of the author's simplicity and easy belief.—Some little time ago, certain labourers who had been employed in digging gravel near the Battle-well, reported that they had found the gravel, at some depth below the surface, stained and clotted together by streams of blood. The report met little credit, nor did the author himself think it worthy of any notice. But passing by this pit, a few days after, the deception was so strong as, for a time, to make impossibility itself seem probable. About two feet deep, the gravel appeared not only clotted in the manner above-mentioned, but even the pebbles intermixed were stained with, what had every appearance of, *congealed blood*. In a moment the five hundred and twenty-eight years that had intervened, seemed as nothing in his eyes. The impossibility that any animal substance could remain

so long unchanged in the earth, was obviated by the extreme dryness of the soil. The weight which, it could not but be perceived, this tincture gave to the gravel, either seemed no objection at all; or might be accounted for by fragments of broken armour. In short, he felt himself in the state of a *theorist* who is resolved to see nothing in nature but what tends to the establishment of his *beloved system*, and carried several of these clotted masses home, as precious relics of the battle. A very little reflection served to dissipate the dream; and it was concluded, as is probably the truth, that some *ferruginous* or rather *ochreous* substance, intermingled with the gravel, and washed down by the rains, must have given cause to this phenomenon. — How far the quantity of iron armour worn in the battle, and beaten to shivers by the strokes of heavy battle-axes, may have conducted to the production of this substance, in a situation that does not seem likely to produce it naturally, must be left to the decision of much abler judges.

ADDITIONS and EMENDATIONS.

NOTE page 1. — to be omitted, and *Cronuchomme* inserted in the text among the names of *Evesham*.

P. 18. l. 3. — for *Manchester*, read *Moncheſter*.

— l. ult. — for *Owythy*, read *Qwyty*.

P. 20. note *. l. 2. — for *Udibergam*, read *Ildibergam*, and for *ſciras*, read *ſciris*.

P. 27. l. 3. — instead of — and appointed ſtated readings to be held, read — but were accuſtomed to place the readers.

— l. 4. — for *fiſhpool*, read *piſcina*.

— l. 5. — instead of — built an apartment in the church, read — made a walk to the church.

— l. 16. — instead of the Latin ſentence read in Engliſh: — *This ſacriſt firſt of all obtained that an ox of the ſecond-beſt kind ſhould be given at funerals, and that one penny ſhould be offered at the maſs ſaid for the dead.* — and dele note †, as alſo, in conſequence, the latter paragraph of note marked §, p. 117.

P. 28. l. 25. — for *novæ*, read *novi*.

P. 29. l. 21. — for *bath*, read *lavatory*.

— l. 30. — instead of — chapel of the upper infirmary, read — upper chapel of the infirmary.

P. 30. l. 8. — for *entrance*, read *garden*.

P. 34. note, l. 5. — dele the words — *when prince of Wales*.

P. 46. l. 21. — dele ſentence beginning — *If this is the ſame place*, — and read instead — *This is not the ſame place with that called Wiquene in the above regiſter, and muſt have been early alienated, for no mention of it, as the property of this Abbey, is to be found in any record, excepting the Aſſs of the Abbots preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum; where it is attributed to the founder.*

P. 47. l. 11. — dele ſentence beginning — *If this is the ſame* — and read instead — *This is not the ſame with Penwortham, hereafter mentioned: but doubtleſs means Pebworth in Glouceſterſhire; which place was, however, early loſt to the Abbey.* — and dele firſt ſentence of the note below.

P. 86. l. 11. — for *Somerſetſhire*, read *Glouceſterſhire*.

P. 92. l. 6. — after the word *rents*, insert *alone*.

P. 105. l. 5. — for *refectory*, read *refectorer*.

P. 119. — dele the *quære* at bottom, and insert as a note instead — *Paraſceve: from a Greek word ſignifying preparation; a name given by the monks to a particular day in Lent.*

P. 119. — insert as a note to the word *falcones* in line 21. — *In the abridgment of this paper, in Dugdale, it is ſalcones: in Dr. Naſh's extracts from it ſlathones; which he, from Du Cange, interprets ſlantones, or cuſtards. This is very probable: but it has occurred to me, that it may mean a ſort of paſte or batter, formed by means of moulds, into the ſhape of a falcon or other bird: a kind of manœuvre by no means uncommon at preſent. But this is mere arbitrary conjecture.*

P. 120. note, l. 23. — dele words between the brackets.

P. 130. l. 8. — dele the words — *probably the ſame with the miſericordia*.

P. 153. l. 26. — for *ſloreremi*, read *ſlorerem*.

P. 190. l. 16. — for *leaſt*, read *left*, and dele comma after it.

P. 210. l. 12. — for *nave*, read *croſs-aiſle*.

A P P E N D I X

TO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
BOROUGH OF EVESHAM.

No. I. List of the Representatives in Parliament of the Borough of *Evesham*.

1295	R ICHARD de Sodonton,	Robert Hales.
1338	Richard de Trapenhall,	Richard de Newbury and Robert de Fredon,
1605	Thomas Biggs, knt.	Philip Knightly, knt.
1614	Ditto,	Thomas Hickman, gent.
1620	Ditto,	Anthony Langston, gent.
1623	Edward Conway, knt.	Richard Grefshield, esq.
1625	Richard Crefswell, recorder,	Anthony Langston, esq.
1626	John Hare, knt.	Arthur Langston, esq.
1628	Robert Harley, knt.	Richard Grefshield, esq.
1640	William Sandys, esq.	William Moreton, esq.
1641	Richard Crefswell, serjeant at law,	Samuel Gardner and John Coventry, esqrs.
1658	Theophilus Andrews, esq. alderman,	Robert Atkins, esq. recorder.
1660	John Egioke, esq.	Sir Thomas Roufe.
<i>Sir Rushout</i> 1661	Richard Cullen, esq.	John Sandys, esq.
1678	Henry Parker, esq.	<i>Sir</i> James Rushout, esq.
<i>Sir</i> 1681	James Rushout, esq. <i>Bart.</i>	Edward Rudge, esq.
1685	Sir John Matthews,	Henry Parker, esq.
1688	Ditto,	Ditto.
1690	Sir James Rushout,	Edward Rudge, esq.
1695	Ditto,	Henry Parker, esq.
1698	John Rudge, esq.	Ditto.

1701	Sir James Rushout,	Henry Parker, esq.
1702	John Rudge, esq.	Ditto.
1705	Ditto,	Ditto.
1708	Ditto,	Sir Edward Goodere.
1710	Ditto,	Ditto.
1713	Ditto,	Ditto.
1714	Ditto,	John Deacle.
1722	Sir John Rushout, bart.	John Rudge, esq.
1727	Ditto,	Ditto.
1734	Ditto,	William Taylor, esq.
1741	Ditto,	Edward Rudge, esq.
1747	Ditto,	Ditto.
1754	Ditto,	Ditto and John Porter.
1761	Ditto,	John Rushout, esq.
1768	John Rushout, esq.	George Durant, esq.
1774	Sir John Rushout, bart.	Edward Seymore, esq.
1780	Ditto,	Charles William Boughton Rouse, esq.
1784	Ditto,	Ditto.
1790	Ditto,	Thomas Thompson, esq.

No. II. List of the Mayors of the Borough of *Evesham*.

1605	ROBERT ALLEN	1617	Joseph Phelps	1630	Edward Cugley
1605	Philip Harris	1618	Philip Gardner	1631	Robert Martin
1606	Thomas Watson	1619	Francis Harwell	1632	William Martin
1607	Philip Gardner	1620	Edward Cugley	1633	Samuel Gardner
1608	David Sanfam	1621	Robert Martin	1634	George Kemp
1609	James Michell	1622	Nicholas Feild	1635	Thomas Ordway
1610	Henry Smith	1623	William Martin	1636	William Bartlet
1611	Edward Bowland	1624	Richard Andrews	1637	Edward Young
1612	John Winnoll	1625	Samuel Gardner	1638	Thomas Milner
1613	Edward Cugley	1626	Philip Harris	1639	Francis Harwell
1614	Philip Harris	1627	Thomas Milner	1640	Robert Martin
1615	Gilbert Smith	1628	Edward Hollam	1641	William Martin
1616	Thomas Milner	1629	Francis Harwell	1642	Samuel Gardner
					1643 George

- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 1643 George Kemp | 1685 Sir John Mathews, knt. | 1727 John Stone |
| 1644 Thomas Handy | 1686 Edward Walker | 1728 Joseph Sergeant |
| 1645 Francis Smart | 1687 Jarret Smith | 1729 Edward Ingles |
| 1646 Thomas Jones | 1688 John Horne & Jarret Smith | 1730 Thomas Andrews |
| 1647 Edmund Field | 1689 Thomas Yarnold | 1731 Robert Cookes |
| 1648 Edward Pitway | 1690 William Lane | 1732 Francis Halford |
| 1649 Isaac Difton | 1691 John Rudge | 1733 Samuel Goodere and John Dineley |
| 1650 Francis Vize | 1692 John Turberville | 1734 John Dineley |
| 1651 Robert Martin | 1693 William Bird | 1735 William Biddle |
| 1652 Thomas Martin | 1694 William Frere | 1736 Thomas Taylor |
| 1653 Samuel Gardner | 1695 Rowland Broadstock | 1737 Thomas Hull |
| 1654 George Kemp | 1696 Jarret Smith | 1738 Joseph Preedy |
| 1655 Edward Young | 1697 Robert Cookes | 1739 Joseph Biddle |
| 1656 John Ballard | 1698 William Rudge | 1740 Robert Mansel and Thomas Ashfield |
| 1657 Thomas Milner | 1699 William Rea | 1741 Richard Horne |
| 1658 Thomas Milner | 1700 William Waring | 1742 John Whitfield |
| 1659 Thomas Harwell | 1701 Thomas Yarnold | 1743 William Jones |
| 1660 Thomas Yarnold | 1702 Edward Walker | 1744 Nicholas Feild |
| 1661 William Rudge | 1703 William Lane | 1745 William Churchley |
| 1662 William Mathews | 1704 Joseph Sergeant | 1746 John Murgatroyd |
| 1663 Nicholas Feild | 1705 Bartholomew Huckel | 1747 Thomas Staple |
| 1664 Philip Ballard | 1706 John Dover | 1748 John Rogers |
| 1665 John Lunn | 1707 John Turberville | 1749 Charles Welch |
| 1666 Richard Godard | 1708 William Loveday | 1750 Thomas Hull |
| 1667 Jarret Smith | 1709 Val. Smith | 1751 Charles Welfborne |
| 1668 Edwin Baldwin | 1710 Robert Smith | 1752 William Calcott |
| 1669 Edward Feild | 1711 Robert Mansel | 1753 William Penny |
| 1670 Richard Young | 1712 William Rudge | 1754 Meyrick Feild |
| 1671 Thomas Harris | 1713 William Tudman | 1755 William Preedy |
| 1672 William Lane | 1714 William Canning | 1756 John Murgatroyd |
| 1673 John Say | 1715 William Jew | 1757 William Phillips |
| 1674 Richard Baylie | 1716 William Preedy | 1758 Thomas Hull |
| 1675 William Rudge | 1717 George Hopkins | 1759 Thomas Dunn |
| 1676 Martin Ballard | 1718 Nicholas Feild | 1760 Thomas Rous |
| 1677 Thomas Martin | 1719 John Bulliene | 1761 William Preedy |
| 1678 George Hopkins | 1720 Thomas Hull | 1762 Elias Andrews |
| 1679 William Martin | 1721 Thomas Savage | 1763 John Stickley |
| 1680 James Michell | 1722 Joseph Preedy | 1764 Joseph Biddle |
| 1681 Nicholas Feild | 1723 Joseph Cooke | 1765 Thomas Staple |
| 1682 John Horne | 1724 Peter Penny | |
| 1683 Ditto | 1725 John Perry | |
| 1684 Theo. Leigh, esq. | 1726 John Whitford | |

1766 Charles Welfborne and William Penny	1774 John Stickley	1784 Henry Goore
1767 John Stickley	1775 Bartholomew Dunn	1785 James Welfborne
1768 Rev. Evan Jones and John Rushout, esq.	1776 Thomas Hull	1786 William Bateson, esq.
1769 Thomas Hull	1777 John Rock	1787 William Bonaker
1770 Anthony Roper	1778 Richard Soley	1788 William Preedy
1771 George Walter	1779 Charles Welfborne	1789 John Brown
1772 John Roper	1780 Samuel Sandys	1790 Mathias Stratton
1773 James Agg	1781 John White	1791 Richard Soley
	1782 John Hunter	1792 William Bonaker
	1783 John Phillips	1793 Charles Welfborne

No. III. Short Notice of the Trials of *Furnival* and *Gary*.

[Taken from the Record Book of the Borough of Evesham.]

Borough of *Evesham*, in }
the county of Worcester. }

TO wit, the general sessions of the peace of our sovereign lord the king, holden at the Guild-hall in and for the said Borough, on Tuesday the 15th day of April, in the thirteenth year of the reign of king *George* the second, over Great Britain, &c. before *Joseph Biddle*, Esq. mayor; *William Taylor*, Esq. recorder; and *Robert Cookes*, Esq. justices of our said lord the king, assigned to keep the peace of the said Borough: and also to hear and determine divers felonies, trespasses, and misdeeds, in the Borough aforesaid done and committed: and the gaol of the said Borough from the prisoners therein to deliver, and so forth.

The names of the jurors to enquire for our sovereign lord the king and the body of the said Borough.

Thomas Andrews,
Thomas Taylor,
John Whitfield,
Richard Horne,
Thomas Hull,
William Jones,
Thomas Yarnold,

John Murgatroyd,
Thomas Suffield,
Thomas Bovey,
Paul Ashmore,
Samuel Preedy,
Joseph Tovey,
William Kettle,

Thomas Harris,
Joseph Dewes,
John Smith,
John Rogers,
William Churchley,
Charles Welfborne, and
Thomas Hyet, Gents.

After

After the grand jury sworn, and charge given, adjourned to four of the clock, afternoon. Then accordingly met; and adjourned to eight of the clock in the forenoon on Wednesday, the 16th day of April.

Borough of *Evesham*, on Wednesday, the 16th of April. At the court then held by adjournment, *Jonathan Gary*, otherwise *Bick*, of the parish of All Saints, in the Borough of *Evesham*, labourer, was indicted and arraigned for breaking open the dwelling house of *Thomas Harris*, on the 5th day of February, in the thirteenth year of his present majesty, about the hour of two of the clock in the night of the same day, by force and arms, and with intent the goods and chattels of the said *Thomas Harris* feloniously and burglariously to steal. Upon his arraignment pleaded, not guilty, and put himself upon God and his country; which country found him guilty of the indictment.

The said *Jonathan Gary*, otherwise *Bick*, was a second time indicted, for breaking open the dwelling-house of *William Jew*, gent. on the same 5th day of February, about the hour of two of the clock in the night of the same day, and feloniously and burglariously stealing thereout goods and money to the value of fifteen shillings and six-pence. Upon which indictment he was arraigned, pleaded not guilty, and put himself upon the country; which country found him guilty—*Death*. To be hanged.

Then also *John Furnifull*, otherwise *Furnivall*, was indicted for breaking gaol, and being at large before the expiration of seven years, for which term he was ordered to be transported by the justices of this court, at their sessions held the 2nd of October, in the thirteenth year of the now king. Upon which indictment the said *Furnifull* was arraigned, and pleaded not guilty, and put himself upon the country; which country found him guilty—*Death*. To be hanged.

Then the court adjourned to three o'clock, afternoon.

Borough of *Evesham*, Wednesday, the 16th of April, at three o'clock, afternoon. At the court then held at the Guildhall of the said Borough, by adjournment.

Then the said *Jonathan Gary*, otherwise *Bick*, and *John Furnifull*, being set to the bar, were severally asked why sentence of death should not be then pronounced against them, according to the several verdicts that had been found against them? And neither the said *Jonathan Gary* nor *John Furnifull* having any thing to say why such sentence should not pass upon them.—Then sentence of death was accordingly passed upon them.

Then the court adjourned to Tuesday, the 22nd of April instant, there to meet again at nine of the clock in the forenoon.

No. IV. Constitutions of the Borough of *Evesham*.

CONSTITUTIONS, orders, and ordinances, made, ordered, and constituted by the mayor, recorder, alderman, chamberlain, and capital burgeses of the Borough of *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester, in the Guild-hall of the said Borough, for the better government and ordering of the said Borough; and of the officers, ministers, residents, and inhabitants within the same Borough: as also for the ordering and government of the schoolmaster and scholars of the free grammar school within the said Borough, according to the charter of our sovereign lord king *James* the first, in the third year of his reign, in that behalf granted: and by virtue of another charter in the same behalf, granted by our late sovereign lord king *Charles* the second, under his highness's great seal of England, bearing test the twelfth day of June, in the six and thirtieth year of the reign of his said majesty king *Charles* the second, over England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. as followeth.

FIRST, That the mayor of the said Borough yearly, always hereafter, shall be chosen on the Tuesday next after St. Bartholomew's-day, in manner and form following: (that is to say:) The mayor for the time being shall first cause the serjeant at mace of the said Borough for the time being, six days before every Tuesday next after St. Bartholomew's-day, to warn the recorder, all the aldermen, capital burgeses, and other the electors appointed by the said later charter, by eight of the clock in the forenoon, in their several and respective habits and gowns, to meet at the mayor's dwelling-house for the time being, to attend the said mayor to church, there to hear a sermon; and thence to attend the said mayor to dinner: and in the afternoon to attend the said mayor to the Guild-hall or Council-chamber of the said Borough, there to make election of a mayor of the said Borough for the year then ensuing: the said mayor so to be elected being such an one of the common council of the said Borough for the time being, as by the said later charter is capable of being elected. And for the more orderly proceeding therein, the said mayor or common council, or greater number of them, shall first nominate two of the said common council, who shall then stand in election to be mayor; out of which two the said mayor and common council, or the greater number of them, shall elect one to be mayor for the year then respectively following; who accordingly shall take upon him the exercise and execution of the said office or place of mayor of the said Borough, on Tuesday next after the octaves of St. Michael the archangel then next after. And the said mayor so to be elected, with the common council or as many of them as shall be present at the said election, shall accompany the said old mayor back again to his house, after the said election. And if the old mayor for the time being shall fail to give notice as aforesaid of such election, then he shall incur such fine or penalty as the residue of the common council, or the greater number of them, shall impose upon him, according to the quantity of the offence. And every of the common council, having such warning as aforesaid,

aforesaid, that shall make default to meet at the mayor's house, and to attend him to the church, thence to dinner, or to the Guild-hall or Council-chamber as aforesaid, shall forfeit for such default twenty shillings: which respective fines of the said mayor and common council respectively, shall be to the use of the chamber of this Borough.

II. Item,—That the mayor elect and common council, in their respective habits, on every Tuesday next after the octaves of St. Michael, by eight of the clock in the morning, shall meet at the mayor's house for the time being, and from thence accompany him to church to hear a sermon, and thence to the Guild-hall, there to continue until the mayor elect shall have taken his oath. And that the said mayor elect shall there accordingly take his oath, standing in the inner bar of the court in the said Guild-hall, before the then mayor his predecessor, and such of the common council as shall be there present.

III. Item,—It is further ordered, constituted, and agreed, that the mayor for the time being shall, from time to time, as occasion shall be ministered, give his voice and assent upon every election of a new mayor, and upon all and every other lawful occasion and consultation for the good government of this Borough, with the major part of the common council of the said Borough for the time being; upon pain that every mayor so refusing, or not assenting to give his voice with the major part of the said common council, shall forfeit for every time so refusing, or not assenting in the matter of election as aforesaid, the sum of one hundred pounds, and to be imprisoned until he shall pay the said sum of one hundred pounds: and also for refusing or not assenting to give his voice with the greater number as aforesaid, in any other matter, (relating to the good government of the said Borough,) to forfeit such sum or sums of money as to the said common council, or the greater number of them, from time to time shall be thought fit and reasonable, according to the quantity and quality of the offence.

IV. Item,—If any mayor, or any person of the common council of the said Borough shall, at any time, disclose, utter, or make known the counsel of the mayor and common council concerning matters conferred and communed of, and in their Council-chamber or Guild-hall, touching the affairs and government of the said Borough, then he or they shall every one forfeit to the use of this Borough, for every time so offending, the sum of forty shillings.

V. Item,—That every mayor of this Borough shall, after his mayoralty, as hath been formerly accustomed, yield up his account to the mayor for the time being, and to the rest of the chamber, of all such profits, perquisites, and sums of money which came to his hands for the use of this Borough during the mayoralty of such late mayor, or with which he was intrusted at the day in the late charter mentioned for that purpose; unless the time of such account shall be deferred by the order of the mayor and common council; and then shall make his account on such day as shall be appointed, upon pain of forfeiture of one hundred pounds for his default therein.

VI. Item,—It is constituted and ordained, that the first Friday in every month shall continue and abide to be the day of the mayor's court or monthly meeting, according to the laudable custom

town of times past, to consult of such things as shall be for the benefit and good government of this Borough: and that the mayor for the time being shall cause his serjeants to give notice to the respective members of the common council of such monthly meeting, and of every other meeting of the said common council which the mayor for the time being in his discretion shall, upon any emergent occasion, think fit to summon. And after such notice given, then if any person or persons of the said common council shall fail to appear at such monthly or other meeting, according to such notice, he and they shall forfeit and pay to the use of the said Borough the sum of two shillings sixpence totiês quotiês such failure shall be made, except reasonable excuse can be given to the satisfaction of the mayor and common council of the said Borough, or the greater number of them that shall be present when such respective failure shall be made.

VII. Item,—That the mayor for the time being, being clerk of the market of and within the said Borough, with one of the common council, and one warden of a company, and one of the constables of the said Borough, as the said mayor shall nominate, shall once every week, at the least, search the bakers, brewers, artificers, and craftsmen's houses within the said Borough, to see how they keep the assize, and whether their victuals be wholesome and allowable to be sold; and to see whether their measures are perfect according to the standard; and whether other artificers behave themselves according to the laws.

VIII. Item,—That the common council shall every of them have his and their place and precedence according to their auncientie, as hath formerly been gravely and laudably observed; and also shall have decent gowns accordingly as hath been accustomed formerly; and shall in such order and decency attend the mayor on the Lord's day, and such festivals and holy days as they have heretofore used to do upon such days, and at all other times, as often as the mayor, upon extraordinary occasions, shall summons them so to do, upon such respective pains and penalties as the mayor and common council, or the greater number of them, shall think fit to impose.

IX. Item,—That no debauched or scandalous person shall be elected into the common council, or into the number of assistants.

X. Item,—That every one that shall hereafter happen to be elected mayor, alderman, capital burghers, or assistant of and within the said Borough, and shall refuse to take upon him or them to exercise such office or place, shall forfeit and pay to the use of this Borough such fines, penalties, or forfeitures, as shall be imposed by the mayor and common council, or the major part of them, not exceeding one hundred pounds for any one default.

XI. Item,—That the mayor for the time being shall, within one month after the decease or removal of any alderman, capital burghers, or assistant of this Borough, cause the common council of the said Borough to be summoned to meet at the Council-chamber or Guild-hall of the said Borough, to elect another alderman, capital burghers or assistant, as the case shall respectively require,

XII. Item,— That all writings being of public purport and relation to the corporation and common seal of this Borough, shall be kept in a chest, or some other convenient place in the Council-chamber, that a ready recourse may be had to them upon all occasions when the mayor and common council shall there meet. And that no common seal of the said corporation shall be affixed to any writing relating to the lands and goods of the corporation, without the consent of the chamber, or greater part of them, upon pain of forfeiture of one hundred pounds for every such offence.

XIII. Item,— That no person of the common council of this Borough, or any other inhabitant thereof, not being present in the Council-chamber or the Guild-hall of this Borough when any matters shall be conferred or agreed upon by the mayor or common council of the said Borough, shall by any means speak against, or go about to break off, overthrow, or impugn any such order or agreement that shall happen to be so conferred or agreed upon, unless by due and orderly course in the Council-chamber, by shewing forth his or her reasons how the same may be prejudicial to the government of this Borough, upon pain to forfeit to the use of this Borough such penalty as the mayor and common council, or the major part of them, shall impose.

XIV. Item,— That every apprentice, after he hath actually et bonâ fide served the time of his apprenticeship, shall be made free of this Borough, and take the usual oaths of a freeman, and pay the accustomed fees. And if such apprentice or apprentices shall refuse or neglect to be admitted and sworn free as aforesaid, by the space of twelve months next after their respective terms and apprenticeships are out, then he or they shall lose the benefit of his or their freedom.

XV. Item,— If any apprentice or servant shall be abused by their master, or any master by their servant, then they respectively are to complain to the chamberlain and wardens of the occupation whereof they are. And if they shall not do right to the misused, then the matter to be ordered by the mayor and common council, or the most part of them, at the mayor's then next monthly court.

XVI. Item,— It is ordered, constituted, and decreed, that every freeman, commorant, and inhabitant of this Borough, shall bear and pay all and all manner of taxations, impositions, forfeitures, fines, and amerciaments, and all other duties that already are, or hereafter shall be, lawfully taxed, imposed, or rated upon him or them, by any ordinance or constitution herein before or hereafter in these presents contained, or by any other reasonable order, or by law of this Borough, or shall be otherwise due to the same Borough: and if any of them shall refuse to pay the same, or shall wilfully withstand the mayor, or any of his officers appointed or to be appointed to collect and receive the same, that then the mayor and common council for the time being shall, either by the serjeants at mace, or some others especially to be appointed for that purpose, from time to time distrain such person and persons, by his and their goods, for such sum and sums of money, and other duties and forfeitures; and such distress or distresses so to be taken to keep or detain by the space of fourteen days. And if the said duties and forfeitures shall not be paid or satisfied

satisfied within that time into the hands of the mayor or chamberlain for the time being, then the said mayor and common council shall cause the said distress and distresses to be sold, and of the money thereof to be made, to deduct the duties and forfeitures aforesaid. And if upon sale of the said goods there shall happen to remain any overplus of money over and above the duties and forfeitures aforesaid, and reasonable charges for making the said distresses, then the said surplussage shall be from time to time restored to the party or parties who owned the said goods; or else the said mayor, aldermen, and burgessees shall or may, from time to time, either in the name of the corporation, or in the name of the chamberlain for the time being, bring an action of debt for such duties or forfeitures against him or them that shall owe, incur, or forfeit the same, for the recovery and obtaining thereof: otherwise the mayor and common council shall and may disfranchise such person or persons so refusing as aforesaid, as to them shall seem convenient.

XVII. Item,—That every freeman inhabiting within the said Borough shall, from time to time, as occasion shall require, upon demand thereof, aid and assist the mayor, serjeants, constables, and all other officers of this borough, if they be withstood, resisted, or evilly entreated by any manner of persons, when they are to execute their authorities or office, upon pain to forfeit for every such default, to the use of this Borough, ten shillings, or more, as by the discretion of the mayor and common council, or the most part of them, shall be thought meet.

XVIII. Item,—That if any of the inhabitants of this Borough, being of the common council, or otherwise, shall with opprobrious, contemptuous, or unseemly words or gestures, deprave or misuse the mayor, the common council, or any of them, or any of the masters or wardens of the companies, or speak or do any thing derogatory or prejudicial to the constitutions and ordinances of this Borough, or any of them, that then, upon complaint and due proof thereof made, such offender or offenders shall forfeit and sustain such fine or other punishment as shall be from time to time thought meet, and ordered by the mayor and common council, or the most part of them, be it pecuniary, by disfranchisement, imprisonment, or otherwise.

XIX. Item,—The chamberlain for the time being shall attend from time to time the mayor and common council, at every mayor's monthly court, to the intent then and there to enter and register in a book, to be produced for that purpose, all the orders and other the proceedings of every of the said courts: which said book shall be safely locked up presently after the end of every court, in a chest or other safe place therefore especially to be appointed, which shall be locked up with two keys, whereof the mayor to keep one, and the chamberlain for the time being the other.

XX. Item,—It is ordered, constituted, and appointed, that the mayor and common council of this Borough shall, between St. Michael the archangel and the nativity of our Saviour, nominate and choose one alderman and two capital burgessees, to be aiding and assisting unto the mayor for the time being, in the government of the free-school of the said Borough, for one whole year together. And they so from time to time yearly, as much as in them lieth, shall have and take care for the due reparation of the said school; and shall be ready, as well in the behalf of the schoolmaster as of the scholars, to hear all complaints and grievances happening to arise between

the said master and his scholars, or any others, for matters as well concerning the good government and ordinancy of the schoolmaster, as of the demeanour and carriages of the scholars.

XXI. Item,—Whereas the inhabitants of this Borough, for the better regulations of their trades and occupations, have formed themselves into divers companies and fraternities, (that is to say,) the company or fraternity of the Mercers, as the first company; the company or fraternity of Cordwainers, as the second company; the company or fraternity of Cloth-workers, as the third company; the company or fraternity of Glovers, as the fourth company; and the company or fraternity of the Ironmongers, as the fifth and last company; and have had and enjoyed divers constitutions and orders respectively, whereby they have been the better governed: nevertheless, through the licentiousness of the late wars, confusion got into the place of order, and many indirect ways have been taken to lessen and bring into contempt the order and good government of this Borough. And amongst other innovations brought in, it is not the least that the several and respective societies, companies, or fellowships, respectively have taken upon them to make many strangers free of their said companies, without so much as acquainting the mayor and common council therewith. And under the notion of this supposed freedom, such strangers and others that are so brought in, refuse to be admitted and sworn freemen of the said Borough, to the great loss and prejudice of the said common council, and to the under-valuing and contempt of the good government of the said Borough. For the avoiding of which mischiefs and inconveniencies for the time to come, and that a right understanding may be had between the common council and the said respective fraternities or companies, it is constituted, ordered, and decreed, that the constitutions and orders of the said respective five companies shall be, and are hereby revived, and shall continue and abide in as full power, strength, and virtue, as ever they were: subject always to the constitutions, orders, and conditions following.

First,—It is ordered and constituted, that no person or persons of the said respective companies shall presume to admit, swear, or otherwise howsoever take into their respective company or companies, any person or persons, until the master or wardens of such company or companies, and the greater number of them, and the mayor and common council of this Borough, or the greater number of them, shall have consented and agreed thereunto, under their respective hands in writing; the same consent to be entered in the town book, or some other book for that purpose.

Item,—If the mayor and common council shall at any time hereafter admit to the freedom of this Borough any person or persons which shall be of any trade or occupation belonging to any one of the five companies as abovesaid, the said person so admitted to freedom shall not exercise any such trade or occupation till he shall also be made free of some one of the said five companies, unto which such trade or occupation shall belong: such company not exacting, by way of fine for admittance in their company, any greater sum than such as shall be imposed on the said person by the common council for the freedom of this Borough, provided such sum be not less than ten pounds.

Item,—It is constituted and ordained, that upon the admission of every or any person or persons

sons into any or either of the said fraternities, the person and persons so to be admitted as aforesaid, shall first take the oath of a freeman, and the other oaths mentioned in the late charter granted to this Borough the twelfth day of June, in the six and thirtieth year of the reign of our late sovereign lord king *Charles* the second. And if any person or persons shall be elected or admitted into any or either of the said company or companies otherwise, or in any other sort or manner than as aforesaid, then every such election and admittance shall be void to all intents and purposes. And the master and wardens of each said company or fraternity that shall presume to do otherwise, or in any other manner than as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay, to the use of the mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of this Borough, the sum of twenty marks apiece, to be levied as other fines and forfeitures are appointed to be levied as aforesaid.

Item,—It is ordained, that no person within the said Borough shall fraudulently or colourably presume to take any apprentice, with intent to make him a freeman, without doing and performing seven years actual service at the least. And that the master of such apprentice shall cause the indentures of such apprentice to be inrolled with the chamberlain of the said Borough for the time being, within the space of three months next after the date of such indentures, under pain of the disfranchisement of such master: and that such apprentice shall have or take no benefit, as to the freedom of the said Borough, by such indenture.

Item,—That the relief of every freeman may use the trade of her deceased husband during her widowhood; and the eldest son which every freeman shall leave at his death, shall be made free by his father's copy, if required.

Provided always, that if any article, ordinance, or matter before specified, shall be contrary to the king's highness's laws or statutes, or the commonwealth of this Borough, that then the said articles, grants, rules, or ordinances before specified, for so much as in the said ordinances are contained, which is, or in any wise may be found contrary or repugnant to the said laws or statutes, or commonwealth of the said town, shall be utterly void and of none effect; any article, matter, or clause, before made or granted to the contrary, notwithstanding.

In witness, confirmation, and for the better corroborating of all which premises, the mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the Borough aforesaid, have not only set hereunto the common seal of their said incorporation, but also the said mayor, recorder, aldermen, chamberlain, and burgeses, hereunder more particularly mentioned, have hereunto subscribed their particular and respective names, and fixed their seals, the first day of June, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign lord *James* the second, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. anno dom. 1687.

We, Sir *Richard Holloway*, knight, one of his majesty's justices assigned to hold pleas before his majesty, and Sir *Thomas Jenner*, knight, one of the barons of the exchequer, justices assigned to take the assizes at *Worcester*, in the county of Worcester, have viewed and examined all and every the before-mentioned constitutions, orders, and ordinances, and do, as much as in us lies, approve
and

and allow the same. In witness whereof we have hereunto put our hands and seals, at the assizes held for the said county, the one and twentieth day of July, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign lord *James* the second, by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. anno. dom. 1687.

RICHARD HOLLOWAY, (L.S.)

THO. JENNER, (L.S.)

<i>Edward Walker</i> , mayor, (L.S.)	<i>Wm. Rudge</i> , (L.S.)	<i>James Michell</i> , (L.S.)
<i>Ro. Martin</i> , (L.S.)	<i>Martin Ballard</i> , (L.S.)	<i>Nicholas Feild</i> , (L.S.)
<i>Richard Younge</i> , (L.S.)	<i>Geo. Hopkins</i> , (L.S.)	<i>John Horne</i> , (L.S.)
<i>Tho. Harris</i> , (L.S.)	<i>Will. Martin</i> , (L.S.)	<i>Jarritt Smith</i> , (L.S.)
<i>William Lane</i> , (L.S.)		

No. V. Oath of a Freeman.

YOU shall swear that you shall be true liege-man, and true faith and truth bear to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and lawful successors, and to your power shall aid and assist the mayor and other officers of this town for the time being, and to them shall be obedient and attendant, concerning such things as they, or any of them, shall lawfully and reasonably will or command you to do. You shall also well and truly observe, perform, fulfill, and keep, all such orders and rules as are and shall be made and established by the common council of this town, for the good government thereof, in all things to you appertaining. You shall also give, yield, and be contributory to and with the corporation of this town, so far forth as you ought or shall be chargeable to do. And you shall not, by colour of your freedom, bear out, or cover under you, any foreign person or stranger; but, according to the best of your skill, with cunning and power, you shall uphold and maintain all the liberties, franchises, good customs, and usages, of this town and corporation.

So help you God.

No. VI. Charter of the Borough of *Evesham*, granted by *James I.* A.D. 1605.

JAMES, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. To all whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Whereas our burgh of *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester, has been an antient and popular burgh, and the burgeses of

of the said burgh, sometimes called by the name of bailiffs, aldermen, and burgesſes of the ſaid burgh, and ſometimes by other names, for time out of mind have had, uſed, and enjoyed divers liberties, customs, franchises, immunities, and preliminaries; as well by reaſon of divers charters and letters patent heretofore to them and their predeceſſors made and granted, as of divers preſcriptions, uſages, and customs within the ſaid burgh anciently uſed and accuſtomed. And whereas the ſergeants at mace of the ſaid burgh now carry and bear, and for a long time paſt have uſed to carry and bear, before the bailiffs of the ſaid burgh for the time being, within the ſaid burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof, two ſilver maces, engraved and adorned with the arms of the princes of Wales: and whereas we are informed that our town of *Bengworth*, in the ſaid county of Worcester, adjoins and lies near the ſaid burgh of *Eveſham*, and that many diſſentions, quarrels, miſbehaviours, riots, and other violations and diſturbances of our peace, and ſeveral abuſes and evil deeds are oftentimes committed and perpetrated without puniſhments and correſtions within our ſaid town of *Bengworth*, through the defect of good diſcipline and government in the ſaid town, to the great damage, grievance, perturbation, and moleſtation, as well of the reſiants and tenants within the ſaid town, as of the burgesſes and inhabitants of the ſaid burgh of *Eveſham*; for which reaſons our beloved ſubjects, as well the bailiffs, aldermen and burgesſes of our ſaid burgh of *Eveſham*, as the tenants, reſiants, and inhabitants of the ſaid town of *Bengworth*, jointly, and of their unanimous aſſent and conſent, have moſt humbly beſought us that we ſhould in this behalf manifeſt and extend our royal favour and munificence towards them, and that we, for the better diſcipline and government of the ſaid burgh and town, would vouchſafe, as it ſhould ſeem to us moſt meet, by our letters patent, to make, reduce, and create, as well the ſaid bailiffs, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh of *Eveſham* aforeſaid, by whatſoever name or names of corporation or incorporation they heretofore have been incorporated as the tenants, reſiants, and inhabitants of our ſaid town of *Bengworth*, in the ſaid county of Worcester, lying near and adjoining to our ſaid burgh of *Eveſham*, into one body corporate and politic, by the name of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh of *Eveſham*, in the county of Worcester. We, therefore, willing that from henceforth for ever, as well in the ſaid burgh of *Eveſham*, as in our ſaid village of *Bengworth*, there may be had one certain and undoubted method of and for the keeping of our peace, and for the diſcipline and government of our ſaid burgh and town, and of our people there inhabiting, and of all others thereto reſorting. And that the ſaid burgh and town from henceforth forever may be and remain a burgh of quietneſs, to the dread and terror of all evil delinquents, and for the reward and ſupport of the good. And that our peace, and all other our acts of juſtice and good government, may there be the better obſerved, hoping, that as the ſaid bailiffs, aldermen, and burgesſes of the ſaid burgh, and the ſaid tenants, reſiants, and inhabitants of our ſaid town of *Bengworth*, and their ſucceſſors, will by our grant enjoy more extenſive honours, liberties, and privileges, they will then think themſelves obliged, in a more eſpecial manner, to do the utmoſt in the ſervice of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors. And alſo at the humble petition and requeſt of our moſt illuſtrious and dearly beloved eldeſt ſon, prince *Henry*, (it being the firſt requeſt he ever made to us in our realm of England,) of our ſpecial favour, and out of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have willed, created, ordained, declared, and granted, and by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do will, ordain, create, conſtitute, declare, and grant, that the ſaid burgh of *Eveſham*, and the ſaid town of *Bengworth*, in our county of Worcester, and the bounds, limits, and precincts of the ſaid burgh and town, from henceforth forever, may be and ſhall be joined and united, and be one undivided and free burgh of itſelf; and that as well the ſaid bailiffs, aldermen, and burgesſes of the ſaid burgh of *Eveſham*, as the ſaid tenants, reſiants, and inhabitants of the ſaid town of *Bengworth*, and their ſucceſſors, whether heretofore lawfully incorporated or not, from this time forward forever, without any queſtion or doubt hereafter to be raiſed, may be and ſhall be, by virtue of theſe preſents, one body corporate and politic, in reality, deed, and name, by the name of mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh of *Eveſham*, in the county of Worcester. And for ourſelves, our heirs and ſucceſſors, we make, erect, ordain, conſtitute, create, confirm, ratify, and declare them, by the name of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh of *Eveſham*, in the county of Worcester, one body corporate and politic, in reality, deed, and name, fully and really by theſe preſents. And that by the ſame

name

name they may enjoy a perpetual succession, and that by the name of the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh of *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester, they may and shall be, in all future times, persons able and capable by law, and a body corporate and politic by law, capable to have, purchase, receive, enjoy, retain, and possess manors, lands, tenements, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, franchises, and all other hereditaments whatsoever, of what nature, kind, name, quality, or species soever they be; and also to give, grant, demise, alien, assign, and dispose of lands, tenements, and hereditaments; and by the name aforesaid to do and execute all and singular other acts and things whatsoever. And that they may have power, by the said name of mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh of *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester, to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, in any courts and places whatsoever, and before any judges and justices, and other officers whatsoever, of us, our heirs and successors, in all and singular actions, pleas, suits, complaints, causes, matters, and demands whatsoever, of what kind, nature, quality, or species they may or shall be, in the same manner and form as any other our liege subjects of this our kingdom of England, being persons capable by law, or any other body corporate and politic within this our kingdom of England, may or can have, receive, purchase, possess, enjoy, retain, give, grant, demise, assign, alien, and dispose of, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended. And that the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the said burgh, forever hereafter, may have a common seal for causes, and to serve in the transacting the business of them and their successors: and that it shall and may be lawful for the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the said burgh, and their successors, the said seal from time to time, at their pleasure, to break, change, and make anew, as to them shall seem most meet. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that our said burgh of *Evesham*, and the circuit, precincts, compass, liberties, franchises, and jurisdictions thereof, may extend and reach through and about the whole limits and precincts of the parishes of *All Saints* and *St. Lawrence*, in the said burgh, and through the whole village and parish of *Bengworth* aforesaid: (viz.) from the south side of the bridge of *Evesham*, otherwise called *Bengworth-bridge*, near a certain house now or heretofore called *Le Old Guild-hall*, by the banks of a certain river there called *Avon*, encompassing a certain park and meadow there called *Abbey Park* and *Meadow*, towards *Evesham* aforesaid, as far as a certain stone wall, called the *Abbey Park Wall*, and from thence along the banks of the river *Avon* aforesaid, to a ditch and water-course, being the furthestmost bound of a certain close there, commonly called *Higden-close*, near a certain mill there, called *Chadbury-mill*, and from thence along the furthestmost bounds and limits of the said close, called *Higden-close*, towards *Lenchwick*, as far as the king's highway there, and so by the said highway to a certain way or lane there, called *Lenchwick-lane*, (otherwise *Offenham-lane*,) and from thence by the said path or lane called *Lenchwick*, otherwise *Offenham-lane*, to a certain bridge called *Offenham-bridge*, alias *Twysford-bridge*, and so by the south side of the said bridge towards *Evesham* aforesaid, to the banks of the river *Avon* aforesaid, on the west part, and from thence, by the banks of the said river, towards *Evesham* aforesaid, to a certain field called the *Paddock*, including the said field, and the mill called *Evesham-mill*, with all the parcels of land and leasowes to the said mill belonging or adjoining, and from thence, by the banks of the said river, to certain houses, called the *Alms-houses*, including the houses adjoining or adjacent on the north side of the said bridge called *Evesham-bridge*, alias *Bengworth-bridge*, and so by the said bridge, over the river, to our said village of *Bengworth*, and from thence through the whole town and parish of *Bengworth*, and all the borders, limits, bounds, and precincts of the said parish of *Bengworth*, compassing, comprehending, containing, and including all houses, mills, fields, lands, and places within the said parish of *Bengworth*, by whatsoever names and appellations they are called and known, or before this time had been used to be called or known. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the said mayor, aldermen and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, free liberty, power, and authority. And that it shall and may be lawful for the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, to go about or make processions over the same, for their true and better information thereby, to be had as often as they please, or shall think necessary to be done; and that without any

any writ or other warrant on that behalf, from us, our heirs or successors, for that purpose to be sued for or prosecuted. And we also will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant and ordain, that from henceforth forever there shall and may be within the said burgh seven of the burgessees of the burgh aforesaid, to be chosen in the manner hereafter in these presents mentioned, who shall be and be called aldermen of the said burgh. And also that there shall be within the said burgh twelve other burgessees of the said burgh, in manner hereafter in these presents mentioned, to be chosen, who shall be and shall be named capital burgessees of the burgh aforesaid. And that there shall and may be within the said burgh two officers, in manner hereafter in these presents mentioned, to be elected and made, one of whom shall be called recorder of the said burgh, the other, chamberlain of the same burgh; which said aldermen, capital burgessees, recorder, and chamberlain, shall be of the common council of the said burgh: out of which said seven aldermen, burgessees, recorder, and chamberlain, being of the common council of the said burgh, one shall from time to time be chosen and nominated, in the form hereafter in these presents mentioned, to be mayor of the said burgh. And we further will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant and ordain, that from henceforth forever there shall be within the said burgh four and twenty of the said burgessees of the said burgh, to be chosen in the manner hereafter mentioned, who shall be and be called assistants of the said burgh. And that the rest of the said aldermen, capital burgessees, recorder, and chamberlain of the said burgh, not being in the office of mayor thereof, and the said twenty-four assistants, shall be from time to time assisting and aiding to the mayor of the said burgh for the time being, in all causes, things, businesses, and matters touching, or in any wise concerning, the said burgh. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the mayor, aldermen, and burgessees of the burgh of *Evesham* aforesaid, and their successors, that the mayor, aldermen, recorder, chamberlain, and capital burgessees of the said burgh, for the time being, or the major part of them, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, in the common hall, chamber, or other convenient place within the said burgh, met together, (upon public summons for that purpose made,) may and shall, from time to time, have full power and authority to make, constitute, ordain, and appoint such reasonable laws, statutes, constitutions, decrees, and ordinances, in writing, which to them, or the major part of them, whereof the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, according to their found discretions shall seem good, wholesome, profitable, honest, and necessary for the good regimen and government of the said burgh, and all and singular the officers, servants, artificers, inhabitants, and residents whatsoever of the said burgh, for the time being, and for declaring after what manner and order the said mayor, aldermen, and burgessees, and all and singular the officers, servants, artificers, inhabitants, and residents of the said burgh, for the time being, shall behave and carry themselves in their offices, services, functions, trades, and businesses within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof, for the further public good and common advantage, and good government of the said burgh, and the victualling of the same, and all other causes and things whatsoever, touching, or in any wise concerning the said burgh. And that they the said mayor, aldermen, recorder, chamberlain, and capital burgessees for the time being, or the greater part thereof, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, may and shall have power, as often as any laws, statutes, rights, ordinances, and constitutions shall be made, ordained, or confirmed, in manner aforesaid, to make, ordain, limit, and provide such punishments, pains, and penalties, either by imprisonments, or by fines and amerciaments, or either of them, for all transgressors or breakers of such laws, institutions, statutes, ordinances, and constitutions, or either of them, which to the said mayor, aldermen, recorder, chamberlain, and capital burgessees of the said burgh for the time being, or the greater part of them, whereof the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, shall seem requisite and necessary, for the better observance of the said laws, institutions, decrees, ordinances, and constitutions; and the same fines and amerciaments to levy, enjoy, have, and receive, to the use of the said mayor, aldermen, and burgessees of the said burgh, and their successors, without any hinderance of us, our heirs and successors, or any the officers or ministers of us, our heirs or successors, and without account to be rendered or given to us, our heirs or successors, for the same: all and singular which

7. Aldermen
12. Capital B.
1 Recorder
1 Chamberlain
24. Assistants

laws, ordinances, institutions, constitutions, decrees, and statutes, so as aforesaid to be made, we will shall be observed under the penalties in the same contained. Provided such laws, institutions, ordinances, constitutions, imprisonments, fines, and amerciaments, be reasonable, and not repugnant or contrary to the laws, statutes, customs, or rights of our kingdom of England. And for the better performance of our will and grant in this behalf, we have assigned, named, created, constituted, and made, and for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do assign, name, create, constitute, and make our beloved *Robert Allen*, present capital bailiff of the said burgh, to be the first mayor of the said burgh; willing that the said *Robert Allen* shall be and continue in the office of mayor of the said burgh, from the day of the date of these presents, to the first Tuesday which shall happen and fall out next after the Feast of St. Michael the archangel, next coming, and from that time until some other shall be duly elected and sworn to that office, according to the appointment and provision herein after expressed and declared, (if the said *Robert Allen* shall so long live.) We have also assigned, named, created, constituted, and made, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do assign, name, create, constitute, and make, our well-beloved Sir *Philip Kighley*, knt. Sir *Thomas Biggs*, knt. *Thomas Watson*, *David Sanfom*, *Robert Allen*, *Philip Harris*, and *Philip Parsons*, to be the first and modern seven aldermen of the burgh aforesaid, to continue in the said offices during their natural lives, unless in the meantime for ill government or misbehaviour, or any other reasonable cause, they or either of them are or shall be removed from their offices. We have also assigned, named, created, constituted, and made, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do assign, name, create, constitute, and make our beloved *David Fowles*, knt. *Lewis Bayley*, *Philip Gardner*, sen. *Bartholomew Momford*, *James Michell*, *Edward Walker*, *Edward Bowland*, *Henry Smith*, *Richard James*, sen. *Gilbert Smith*, *John Washborn*, and *William Robins*, to be the first twelve capital burgeses of the said burgh, to continue in the said offices during their natural lives, unless in the meantime for ill government or misbehaviour, or any other reasonable cause, they or either of them are, or shall be removed from these offices. We have also assigned, named, created, constituted, and made, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do assign, name, create, constitute, and make our beloved *William Biddle*, sen. *Geo. Hawkins*, *Richard Harward*, *John Winnoll*, *Robert Brantley*, *Edward Lepper*, *Ranulph Eate*, *William Allen*, *Joseph Phelps*, *William Chandler*, *John Deacle*, *John Preedy*, *William Brooke*, *John Jelse*, *Richard James*, jun. *William Hardman*, *Bartholomew Tolly*, *Robert Bishop*, *Philip Gardner*, jun. *Arthur Godson*, *Thomas Andrews*, *Isaac Diffon*, *Thomas Smith*, and *William Yorkins*, to be the first twenty-four assistants of the said burgh, to continue in the said offices during their natural lives, unless during that time for ill management or misbehaviour, or any other reasonable cause, they or either of them are, or shall be, displaced. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that the mayor, aldermen, capital burgeses, recorder, and chamberlain of the said burgh for the time being, or the greater part of them, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, from time to time, for ever, may and shall have power and authority yearly, upon the first Tuesday which shall happen and fall out next after the feast of St. Bartholomew, to name and appoint one of the common council of the said burgh to be mayor of the said burgh; who being so elected and nominated shall, after such election and nomination, (to wit, from the first Tuesday which shall happen and fall out next after the feast of St. Michael the archangel next ensuing,) be and continue mayor of the said burgh for one whole year, then next following, and that he who shall be so as aforesaid nominated and elected into the office of mayor of the burgh aforesaid, shall, before he shall be admitted to perform that office, take his corporal oath before the last mayor his predecessor, and recorder, and the rest of the common council of the said burgh, or all of them who shall then be present, on every first Tuesday next after the feast of St. Michael the archangel, after such election and nomination, to execute the office of mayor of the said burgh well, faithfully, and truly, in all things touching the said office; and that after such oath, so as aforesaid made, he may perform the office of mayor of the said burgh for one whole year next following. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the said burgh, and their successors, that if it shall happen that

that the mayor of the said burgh for the time being shall, within one year after he has been so as aforesaid elected and sworn to that office, die, or be therefrom removed, that then and so often it shall and may be lawful for the rest of the common council of the said burgh then surviving or remaining, for the time being, or the greater part of them, one other out of themselves, into the place and office of such mayor of the said burgh, so dead or displaced, to chuse and prefer, according to the appointment and provision in these presents above declared: and that he that is so elected into the office of mayor of the said burgh, having first taken his corporal oath in manner aforesaid, may have and exercise the said office during the remainder of the said year: and so from time to time, as often as the case shall so happen. And whensoever it shall happen that any or either of the said seven aldermen, or of the said twelve capital burgeses of the said burgh, shall die or be removed from the said offices of aldermen or capital burgeses of the said burgh, whom we intend shall be removed when they misbehave themselves in the said offices, at the pleasure of the mayor and the rest of the common council of the said burgh, or major part of them, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, that then and so often it shall and may be lawful to and for the said mayor, aldermen, recorder, chamberlain, and capital burgeses of the said burgh, then surviving or remaining, or the greater part of them, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, one or more of the burgeses of the said burgh, in the place or places of such alderman or aldermen, capital burgeses or capital burgeses of the said burgh, so happening to die or be removed, to elect, nominate, and prefer, to supply the number of the said seven aldermen and twelve capital burgeses of the said burgh; and that he or they so as aforesaid to the office or offices of alderman or aldermen, capital burgeses or capital burgeses, chosen and preferred, having before the mayor, aldermen, recorder, chamberlain, and capital burgeses of the said burgh, or the major part of them for the time being, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, taken his or their corporal oath, well and faithfully to perform those offices respectively, shall be of the number of the said seven aldermen or twelve capital burgeses of the said burgh: and so from time to time, as often as the case shall so happen. We also will, and for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do by these presents grant, that whensoever it shall happen that any of the said twenty-four assistants of the said burgh shall happen to die, or be removed from that office, we intending that such assistant or assistants, not behaving him or themselves well in the said office, shall be removable at the pleasure of the mayor and the rest of the common council of the said burgh, for the time being, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, that then and so often it shall and may be lawful to and for the said mayor, and the rest of the common council, for the time being, or the major part of them, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, to elect, nominate, and prefer one or more of the burgeses of the said burgh into the place or places of such assistant or assistants, so happening to die or be displaced, to supply and make up the said number of twenty-four assistants of the said burgh. And that he or they, so as aforesaid to the office or offices of assistant or assistants of the said burgh, chosen and preferred, having taken his corporal oath before the mayor and the rest of the common council of the said burgh, or the greater part of them, shall be of the number of the said twenty-four assistants of the said burgh: and thus from time to time, as often as the case shall so happen. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant and ordain, that one of the residents and inhabitants of the said parish of *Bengworth* aforesaid, within the said burgh, shall every seventh year, at the least, be elected and preferred in the mayoralty of the said burgh, according to the appointment above-mentioned in these presents. And that from time to time, and at all times hereafter, two of the said seven aldermen, four of the said twelve capital burgeses, and eight of the said twenty-four assistants of the said burgh, be and shall be inhabitants and residents within the said parish of *Bengworth*. And that *Philip Keighley*, knt. be and shall be one of the aldermen of the said burgh, during his natural life; and after his decease, every heir male of the said *Philip Keighley* shall successively be one of the aldermen of the said burgh, if at the time of the death of his predecessor he shall have attained to the age of one and twenty years; but if not, then when he shall attain to such age, he shall be chosen and preferred to be one of the aldermen of the said burgh, during his natural life, any thing in these presents contained to the contrary thereof, or

any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, notwithstanding. Moreover we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that if any person or persons that shall be hereafter elected or nominated to the offices of mayor, aldermen, capital burgesses, or to any other office within the said burgh, having notice or knowledge of his or their election, shall refuse or deny to exercise the office or offices to which he or they so refusing shall be elected or nominated, that then and so often it shall and may be lawful to and for the said mayor, aldermen, and the rest of the common council of the said burgh, for the time being, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, to tax and impose upon such person or persons so refusing, such fines and amerciaments, as to the said mayor, aldermen, and the rest of the common council of the said burgh for the time being, or the greater part of them, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, shall seem reasonable; and him or them refusing or denying to pay the said fines and amerciaments so imposed, to commit to prison within the said burgh, and there in prison to keep, until he or they shall pay, or cause to be paid, the said fines and amerciaments, to the use of the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the said burgh. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that they and their successors may and shall have within the said burgh, one notable and discreet man, to be chosen and nominated in manner hereafter in these presents expressed, who shall be and be called high steward of the said burgh: and we have assigned, constituted, and made, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do assign, name, constitute, and make our well-beloved and faithful servant, *Thomas Chaloner*, knt. to be the first high steward of the said burgh, to continue in the said office during his natural life: and that from time to time, and at all times after the death of the said *Thomas Chaloner*, knt. the said mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, for the time being, or the greater part of them, shall and may chuse, nominate, and prefer, one notable and discreet man, from time to time, to be high steward of the said burgh: and that such person or persons, who after the death of the said *Thomas Chaloner*, knt. shall be so as aforesaid elected, chosen, and nominated, into the office of high steward of the said burgh, shall and may exercise and enjoy the said office of high steward of the said burgh, during the pleasure of the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, or the major part of them, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that they and their successors, from henceforth forever, may and shall have within the said burgh one honest and discreet man, skilled in the laws of England, in the manner hereafter in these presents expressed and specified, to be chosen and named, who shall be and be called recorder of the said burgh: and that the recorder of the said burgh, so as aforesaid to be chosen and named, before he be admitted to the exercise of the said office, shall take his corporal oath before the mayor of the said burgh, well and faithfully to execute the office of recorder of the said burgh, according to his knowledge, in all things touching or concerning the said office; and that after such oath, so made, he may exercise and use the office of recorder of the said burgh, by himself or his sufficient deputy, within the said burgh. And we have assigned, named, created, constituted, and made, and by these presents, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do assign, name, create, constitute, and make our beloved *Henry Frowick*, of *Lincoln's-inn*, in the county of Middlesex, esq. learned in the laws of England, to be the first recorder of the said burgh, to continue in the said office during his natural life. And that from time to time, and at all times after the death of the said *Henry Frowick*, the said mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, for the time being, or the greater part of them, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, shall and may, from time to time, at their pleasure, elect, nominate, and prefer one other discreet man, skilled in the laws of England, into the office of recorder of the said burgh: and that they who after the death of the said *Henry Frowick*, or after he shall of his own accord have left the said office of recorder of the said burgh, shall be elected, preferred, and nominated to that office, may and shall have, exercise, and enjoy the same, during the pleasure of

of the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesſes of the ſaid burgh, for the time being, or the greater part of them, of whom the mayor of the ſaid burgh for the time being we will ſhall be one, ſuch perſon having firſt taken his corporal oath well and faithfully to execute the ſaid office of recorder of the ſaid burgh, in manner aforeſaid. And further, we will, and by theſe preſents do, for ourſelves, our heirs and ſucceſſors, grant to the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors, that the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesſes for the time being, or the greater part of them, of whom the mayor of the ſaid burgh for the time being we will ſhall be one, may and ſhall have power from time to time, to elect, conſtitute, and create one of the burgesſes of the ſaid burgh, to have, exerciſe, and perform the office of chamberlain of the ſaid burgh, as long as ſhall ſeem expedient to the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesſes of the ſaid burgh, or the greater part of them, of whom the mayor of the ſaid burgh for the time being we will ſhall be one, or until the ſaid chamberlain ſhall of his own accord leave the ſaid office, or ſhall die: and that ſuch burgeſs of the ſaid burgh, in manner aforeſaid choſen, preferred, and created, or to be choſen, preferred, and created chamberlain of the ſaid burgh, ſhall take his corporal oath before the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesſes of the ſaid burgh for the time being, or as many of them as will be preſent, faithfully to do and execute all thoſe things which belong to the office of chamberlain of the ſaid burgh. And that the chamberlain of the ſaid burgh for the time being, ſhall and may receive, and keep to the uſe of the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, all and all manner of rents, fines, amerciaments, revenues, profits, commodities, and emoluments whatſoever, to the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes, and their ſucceſſors, in right of their corporation, belonging or pertaining, incurred, due, or payable, and the ſame at their command, from time to time, lay out and expend: and that the chamberlain of the ſaid burgh for the time being, ſhall keep in the chamber of the ſaid burgh all and ſingular the writings, charters, evidences, and minuments whatſoever, to the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, for the time being, belonging, or in anywiſe appertaining; and ſhall yearly for ever, on the feaſt of St. Matthew, render a true and juſt account to the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesſes of the ſaid burgh for the time being, or the greater part of them, of all things by him ſo received, levied, kept, or had. And alſo that every chamberlain of the ſaid burgh, for the time being, who ſhall happen to be removed from his ſaid office, or ſhall quit the ſame of his own accord, ſhall, within one month next after his removal, or voluntary leaving of his ſaid office, if thereunto required, render a true and faithful account to the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesſes of the ſaid burgh, or as many of them as will be preſent, of all things in his office by him received, had or done. And for the better execution of our will and grant in this behalf, we have aſſigned, created, conſtituted, and made, and by theſe preſents for ourſelves, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do aſſign, create, conſtitute, and make our beloved *Ruffel Andrews*, gent. to be the firſt chamberlain of the ſaid burgh, to continue in that office during his natural life. And that from time to time, and at all times after the death or ſurrender of the ſaid *Ruffel Andrews*, the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, for the time being, or the greater part of them, of whom the mayor of the ſaid burgh for the time being we will ſhall be one, ſhall and may from time to time, and at all times, at their will and pleaſure, elect, nominate, and prefer one other diſcreet man to be chamberlain of the ſaid burgh. And that ſuch perſon who, after the death or ſurrender of the ſaid *Ruffel Andrews*, ſhall ſo as aforeſaid be elected and named to the office of chamberlain of the ſaid burgh, ſhall and may have, enjoy, and exerciſe the ſaid office of chamberlain of the ſaid burgh, during the pleaſure of the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, or the greater part of them, of whom the mayor for the time being we will ſhall be one; ſuch perſon having firſt taken his corporal oath before the mayor of the ſaid burgh for the time being, rightly, well, and faithfully to execute the ſaid office of chamberlain of the ſaid burgh. And further, we will, and by theſe preſents for ourſelves, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do grant to the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors, that if it ſhall happen that the mayor of the ſaid burgh for the time being, ſhall be ſick to that degree that he cannot be able to attend the neceſſary buſineſs of the ſaid burgh, or for any other reaſonable cauſe, (to be allowed by the capital burgesſes of the ſaid burgh, or the greater part of them,) ſhall go out of the ſame, that then and ſo often it ſhall and may be lawful for the
mayor

mayor of the said burgh for the time being, from time to time, to make and constitute an honest and discreet man, out of the aldermen of the burgh aforesaid, to be deputy of the said mayor, for the time being, so afflicted of sickness, or being absent, for any such reasonable cause to be allowed as aforesaid, to continue in the office of deputy mayor of the said burgh, in the absence or sickness of the mayor of the said burgh for the time being, during his mayoralty: which said alderman, so as aforesaid to be constituted deputy mayor of the said burgh for the time being, shall and may do and execute all and singular the things which belong to the office of mayor of the said burgh, within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof, during the pleasure of the mayor of the said burgh for the time being, in his absence or sickness, by virtue of these our letters patent, as fully and amply as the mayor of the said burgh for the time being might or could, by virtue of these our letters patent, or by any other means, have done or executed the same; the said deputy mayor having first taken his corporal oath before the recorder of the said burgh for the time being, or his deputy, well and faithfully to execute all and singular those things which belong to the office of deputy mayor of the said burgh: and so from time to time as often as the case shall so happen. And if it shall happen that the recorder of the said burgh for the time being, shall be sick to that degree that he cannot attend the necessary business of the said burgh, touching the office of recorder thereof, or for any other reasonable cause shall go out of the said burgh, that then and so often it shall and may be lawful for the recorder of the said burgh for the time being, to make and constitute, from time to time, an honest and discreet man, of the burgeses of the said burgh, to be deputy of him the said recorder, for the time being, so afflicted with sickness, or for any other reasonable cause absent, to continue in that office of deputy recorder of the said burgh, in the absence or sickness of the said recorder for the time being, during his pleasure: which said burgeses, so as aforesaid constituted deputy recorder of the said burgh, shall and may do and perform all and singular those things which belong and ought to belong to the office of recorder of the said burgh, within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof, during the pleasure of the recorder of the said burgh for the time being, in his absence or sickness, by virtue of these letters patent, as fully and amply as the recorder of the said burgh for the time being, by virtue of these our letters patent, or by any other means, might or could have done: such deputy recorder having first taken his corporal oath before the mayor of the said burgh, or his deputy, for the time being, rightly and faithfully to perform the same: and so from time to time, as often as the case shall so happen. And we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that they and their successors, from henceforth forever, may have and hold, and have power to have and hold, a court of record within the said burgh every Tuesday in every week throughout the year, to be holden before the mayor of the said burgh, or his sufficient deputy, and the senior alderman of the said burgh, and also the recorder of the said burgh for the time being, or his sufficient deputy, or any two of them, whereof the mayor or recorder of the said burgh for the time being, or their, or either of their sufficient deputies, we will shall be one. And that they shall and may, in the said court, by plaint, the same to be levied, hold all manner of pleas, actions, suits, and demands, real, personal, and mixt, and of all trespasses whatsoever, within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof, moved, happening, had, or committed, or hereafter to be done, moved, had, or committed; and of all and singular debts, actions upon the case, droit, account, covenant, detaining of charters, writings, minuments, and chattels, taking and detaining of cattle and chattels, and all other contracts whatsoever, out of whatsoever causes and things within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof, arising, or hereafter happening to arise; although the said trespasses, debts, accounts, covenants, receipts, detinues, or other contracts, amount to, or exceed the sum or value of forty shillings, and not exceeding the debt, sum, damage, or value of one hundred pounds. And that such pleas, suits, plaints, and actions, may there be heard and determined before the said mayor, or his sufficient deputy, and the senior alderman of the said burgh, and also the recorder thereof for the time being, or his sufficient deputy, or any two of them, of whom the mayor or recorder of the said burgh, or their, or either of their sufficient deputies for the time being, we will shall be one, by such and such like procefs, means, and methods as are agreeable and according to the laws and customs of our kingdom of England, and in as ample manner and form

form as in any other court of record, in any other city, burgh, or town incorporate, within this our kingdom of England are used and accustomed. And that the mayor and recorder of the burgh aforesaid, for the time being, may and shall have power and authority, from time to time, in full court aforesaid, to name, elect, and appoint, admit and swear, as many fit and expert men to be attornies, and attend in the said court of record, as often as their presence, attendance, and service shall be required, as to the said mayor and recorder of the said burgh, for the time being, shall seem necessary to be elected and named, as in any other court of record within this our kingdom of England is used and accustomed. And that the said attornies for the time being, and all other officers and ministers executing any office or service within the said court of record, about the administration or execution of justice within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof, may hereafter have and receive all such reasonable fees and rewards for the execution of their duties and offices, as they anciently have had and received, or of right ought to have and receive. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that they shall and may have forever within the said burgh, the liberties and precincts thereof, a prison or gaol, for the safe custody of all and singular the prisoners attached, or to be attached, or to be committed to the same prison or gaol, for any manner of cause, which within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof, may be inquired of, presented, punished, or determined, there to remain until they, in a lawful manner, are delivered. And that the mayor of the said burgh for the time being, may and shall be keeper of the said gaol. And moreover, of our further special grace, and out of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do, by these presents, grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that they the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses, and their successors, from henceforth forever, may have, enjoy, and receive, to the proper use and behalf of the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses, and their successors, all and all manner of fines, issues, amerciements, forfeitures, and profits in the said court, before the said mayor, or his sufficient deputy, and senior alderman, and recorder of the said burgh, or his sufficient deputy, or any two of them as aforesaid, or before our justices, or those of our heirs and successors, assigned to keep the peace within the said burgh, coming, falling-out, arising, happening, or being forfeited: and that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said mayor, alderman, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, from time to time, and by their proper servants, to levy and collect the said fines, issues, amerciements, forfeitures, and profits, according to the laws and customs of our kingdom of England, and the same to have and enjoy to the proper use and behalf of the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses, and their successors; rendering thereout to us, our heirs and successors, yearly, of and for all and singular the said fines, issues, amerciements, forfeitures, and profits, the ancient farm or rent of thirteen pounds six shillings and eight-pence, of lawful money of England, to be paid into the hands of our bailiffs of the premises for the time being, at the feast of St. Michael the archangel, and Easter, by even and equal portions, to be yearly forever paid, as the same has been anciently accustomed. We have also granted, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, for the time being, that they and their successors, from henceforth forever, may and shall have, to their own proper use and behalf, all and all manner of goods and chattels, waived, deodands, the goods and chattels of felons and fugitives, *felo's de se*, out-lawed or to be out-lawed, waived or to be waived, condemned, or to be condemned, judged or to be judged, attainted or to be attainted, convicted or to be convicted, fugitives, and under out-law for felony, from time to time arising, happening, or coming, of all and singular the burgeses and inhabitants of the burgh aforesaid, and the liberties and precincts thereof. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that the mayor of the said burgh for the time being, and his successors, may and shall have full authority and power to press and to take the muster of our liege subjects within the said burgh, and the limits and precincts of the same, in some convenient place thereof, when and as often as he or they shall think proper so to do; and to chastise and punish those who shall refuse to obey the lawful commands of the said mayor

of

of the said burgh for the time being, by imprisonment of their bodies according to his discretion; and that no lieutenant or commissioner of us, our heirs and successors, assigned or to be assigned to press or take muster in the said county of Worcester, shall press or muster any men residing or inhabiting within the said burgh, and the limits and precincts thereof, nor shall enter the said burgh, or the limits and precincts thereof, to do or execute any thing relating anyway to their offices, unless with the assent and consent of the mayor of the said burgh for the time being. And moreover, of our further favour, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that they the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, and their successors, shall not be constrained or compelled out of the said burgh, by any means, to come before us, our heirs or successors, or justices of the common pleas, or those of our heirs or successors, or the justices of us or our heirs assigned to take the assizes, and for gaol delivery, or the justices of us or of our heirs, assigned to hear and determine divers felonies, trespasses, and evil behaviours, or our justices of *nisi prius*, or those of our heirs, or the justices of us or our heirs assigned to survey walls, ditches, gutters, sewers, bridges, or pools, or any other the commissioners of us or of our heirs, or the sheriffs, estreators, coroners, or other officers or ministers of us, our heirs and successors, or the stewards and marshal, or clerk of the market or household of us or our heirs; neither shall they, or either of them, be put or impanelled for juries, or other inquests, in any assizes within the said burgh; neither shall they, or either of them, forfeit any issues or amerciaments, by any means, to us or our heirs, upon that occasion; but shall forever be acquitted therefrom, unless they, or any or either of them, shall have lands and tenements out of the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts of the same, for which they ought to be charged. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that *Thomas Chaloner*, knt. *David Fowles*, knt. *William Fleetwood*, knt. and *Adam Newton*, esq. during their natural lives, and also the mayor and recorder of the said burgh for the time being, and also four of the aldermen of the said burgh for the time being, to be assigned, named, and elected by the said mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, or by the major part of them, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, which said aldermen of the said burgh, and every of them, may and shall, forever, be keepers and justices of us, our heirs and successors, for the keeping and preserving, and for causing to be preserved and kept, the peace of us, and of our heirs and successors, within the said burgh, and the limits and precincts thereof, and also for the keeping and causing to be kept the statutes and ordinances of *Winchester*, *Northampton*, and *Westminster*, made for the keeping of the said peace, and for keeping the ordinances there and elsewhere made concerning hunters, workmen, labourers, artificers, servants, hosts, beggars, and vagabonds, and those who call themselves travelling men; and likewise for the keeping the statutes and ordinances made in the first and second years of the reign of our late predecessor, *Henry* the fourth, king of England; and also for the keeping of the statute of king *Henry* the fifth, made in the parliament held at *Westminster*, in the third year of his reign, concerning the washing, clipping, and filing of the money of our kingdom, and for the keeping and causing to be kept, all other ordinances and statutes, made, or to be made and published, for the good of our peace, and of our heirs and successors, and for the quiet regimen and government of our people, and of our heirs and successors, in all and singular articles whatsoever, within the said burgh of *Evesham*, and the limits and precincts thereof, according to the powers, form, and effect thereof, and for the correction and punishment of all those who shall be found delinquents against the form of the said ordinances and statutes, in the manner therein prescribed; and for causing all those who threaten any of our people with the hurt of their bodies, or burning of their houses, to come before them, or some of them, to find sufficient sureties for the peace, and their good behaviour towards us, and the people of us, our heirs and successors; and if they shall refuse to find such sureties, then to commit them to prison in our said burgh, to be safely kept so long, and until they shall find such sureties as aforesaid. Moreover we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors forever, that the said *Thomas Chaloner*, *David Fowles*,
William

William Fleetwood, and *Adam Newton*, during their natural lives, and also the said mayor, recorder, and four aldermen of the said burgh, for the time being, so as aforesaid to be chosen and nominated to the office of justice of the peace for the time being, or any three of them, of whom the mayor and recorder for the time being we will shall be two, from this time forth forever, may be justices of us, our heirs and successors, to inquire by the oath of honest and lawful men of the said burgh, by whom the truth of the matter may be better known, of all and all manner of felonies, enchantments, incantations, arts, magic, trespasses, forestallings, regratenings, ingrossings, and exactions within the said burgh, and the limits and precincts of the same, by whomsoever, and after whatsoever manner, done and committed, and which may therefrom henceforth happen to be done; and also of all and singular other malefactions and offences, of which our justices of the peace may lawfully inquire within the said burgh, and the limits and liberties of the same, in whatsoever manner done or committed, or which may there henceforth happen to be done or attempted. And also all those who against our peace, and to the disturbance of our people, shall go or ride, or hereafter shall presume to go or ride, in assemblies, with armed force. And also all such as lie in wait to maim or kill our people, as effectually as by any of the keepers and justices of the peace of us, our heirs or successors, assigned and to be assigned to inquire of such felonies, trespasses, and malefactions, in any county of our kingdom of England, by virtue of the ordinances and statutes aforesaid, or of any others before this time made, or hereafter to be made, according to the force and effect of our letters patent, to them for that purpose made or to be made, ought and is used to be inquired into; and from time to time to hear and determine all and singular the premises, and all other things whatsoever, attempted or committed, or hereafter to be attempted or committed within the said burgh, and the limits and precincts of the same, as by the said keepers of the peace of us, our heirs and successors, assigned and to be assigned to hear and determine such felonies, trespasses, and malefactions, in any county of our said kingdom of England may or ought, by virtue of the aforesaid ordinances and statutes, to be discussed and determined according to the laws and customs of our kingdom of England, and the form of the ordinances and statutes aforesaid, without any commission or letters of us, our heirs and successors, for that purpose to them to be granted. And further, we will, and of our special favour, and out of our certain knowledge and mere motion, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that the mayor and recorder of the said burgh for the time being, and the said four aldermen, so as aforesaid from time to time elected and nominated to the office of justice of the peace, or any three of them, of whom the mayor and recorder of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be two, be from henceforth forever justices of us, our heirs and successors, from time to time to deliver the gaol of the said burgh of the prisoners now therein, or to the same gaol from henceforth, for what causes soever, to be committed. And that the coroner of the said burgh for the time being, do from time to time make return of all juries, inquests, depositions, pannels, attachments, and indentures, by them or either of them taken or to be taken, to the mayor, recorder, and the said four aldermen, so as aforesaid to be chosen and named into the office of justice of peace within the said burgh, from time to time, or any three or more of them, of whom the mayor and recorder of the burgh aforesaid for the time being we will shall be two, when and as often as they shall be minded to deliver the said gaol of the prisoners therein being; and that they attend them in all things touching the delivery of the said gaol, and execute the command of the said justices for the time being, and every of them, from time to time, in the same manner and form as any sheriff of our kingdom of England, before the justices of gaol delivery, of us, our heirs and successors, in any county of our kingdom of England used to do, return, attend, and execute the same, by the laws of this our kingdom. And that the said mayor, aldermen and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, may and shall have, and may erect a gallows, from henceforth within the said burgh, or the liberties of the same, for the hanging of felons, murderers, and other malefactors within the said burgh condemned, or to be condemned thereto, according to the laws of this our kingdom of England. And that the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, may by themselves, or their officers or deputies constituted in the said burgh, apprehend and arrest all felons, thieves, and other malefactors whatsoever, within the

said burgh, and the limits, precincts, and liberties thereof, and them to commit to gaol within the said burgh, there safely to be kept until by due course of law delivered. And further, we have given and granted, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgessees of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that the mayor of the said burgh for the time being may and shall have the return of all writs, precepts, bills, and warrants, of us, our heirs and successors; and the estreats and precepts of our justices itinerant, as well of the pleas of the forest, as of the common pleas, or other justices whatsoever; and also the return of attachments, as well of pleas of the crown, as any other in the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts of the same, or any part thereof arising or happening, and execution of them to do by the precept of the mayor of the said burgh for the time being; so that no sheriff, under-sheriff, bailiff, or other officer of us, our heirs or successors, may enter the said burgh, the suburbs or precincts of the same, to do any thing or things to their offices in that behalf belonging, unless for the default of the said mayor or his successors, or their servants for the time being. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the mayor, aldermen, and burgessees of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgessees of the burgh aforesaid, for the time being, or the major part of them, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, may, and may have power from time to time, at their pleasure, to elect and nominate one of the capital burgessees, or of the assistants of the said burgh, to be coroner of the said burgh: which said coroner, so as aforesaid to be chosen and named, having taken his corporal oath before the mayor of the said burgh for the time being, rightly, well, and faithfully to execute that office, in all things touching or concerning the same, may have and exercise the said office of coroner of the said burgh, during the pleasure of the said mayor, aldermen, and capital burgessees, or the greater part of them, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, or until some other person shall be duly elected into the office of coroner of the said burgh, according to the ordinance and provision in these presents above-mentioned and expressed: and that he who shall be chosen and sworn as aforesaid into the office of coroner of the said burgh, may, and may have power to do and execute all things whatsoever which belong to the office of coroner of the said burgh, within the same, and the liberties and precincts thereof; so that no other coroner of us, our heirs and successors, may hereafter, by any means, intermeddle or enter into, or presume to enter into the said burgh, the suburbs or precincts thereof, to do any thing that belongs to the office of coroner of the said burgh. And further, we being willing to extend our favour in this behalf to the mayor, aldermen, and burgessees of the said burgh, and their successors, of our special favour, and out of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgessees of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, and we, firmly enjoining, command, that from henceforth forever, no sheriff, under-sheriff, estreator, coroner, keeper or justice of the peace, or any other ministers of us, our heirs or successors, may enter into, or by any means presume to enter into the said burgh, the suburbs, liberties, or precincts of the same, to do or exercise any thing or things there which belong to their offices, unless for the default of the mayor, aldermen, and burgessees of the burgh aforesaid, for the time being. And further, we have granted, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgessees of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that the mayor of the said burgh for the time being, from henceforth forever, be and shall be our clerk of the market, and escheator of us, our heirs and successors, within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof; and that the said mayor for the time being, shall and may do and perform all things whatsoever to the said offices of clerk of the market and escheator, or either of them, belonging; and to perform all and singular other acts and deeds which belong to these offices, or either of them, within the said burgh, the suburbs and precincts of the same; so that no clerk of the market or escheator, of us, our heirs or successors, shall by any means hereafter intermeddle in, or by any means enter, or presume to enter into the said burgh, to execute any thing which belongs to the offices of clerk of the market or escheator, or either of them. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant and ordain, that from henceforth forever there be and shall be within the said burgh

burgh of *Evesham*, two burgesſes of parliament, of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors : and that the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors, upon any writ of election of burgesſes of parliament, of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, to them directed, may and ſhall have power and authority to elect and nominate two diſcreet and honeſt men, to be burgesſes of the parliament of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, for the ſaid burgh ; and to ſend the ſaid burgesſes ſo choſen, at the coſts and charges of the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors, to the parliament of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, whereſoever it ſhall be holden, in the ſame manner and form as in other burghs of this kingdom of England is uſed and accuſtomed : and we will that the ſaid burgesſes, ſo choſen and named, ſhall be preſent and remain in the parliament of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, at the coſts and charges of the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, for the time being, during all ſuch time as ſuch parliaments happen to be holden, in like manner and form as other burgesſes of parliament, for any other burgh or burghs whatſoever within our kingdom of England, uſed to do ; which ſaid burgesſes in ſuch parliament of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall have their votes, as well affirmative as negative, and there do and perform all and ſingular other ſuch things as any other burgeſs or burgesſes of our parliament, for any other burgh or burghs whatſoever, may have, do, or perform, by any way or means whatſoever. And further, we will, and by theſe preſents for ourſelves, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do grant to the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors, forever, that they and their ſucceſſors may have, hold, and keep, and may have power to have, hold, and keep, in the ſaid burgh, yearly forever, in every week, two markets, one of them on Monday, and the other on Friday, in each week throughout the year ; and alſo three fairs in every year forever, the firſt of the ſaid fairs to begin on Monday, in the ſecond week next after the feaſt of Eaſter, and to continue all that day, and on the morrow of the ſame ; the ſecond fair to begin on Monday next after the feaſt of Whitſuntide, and to laſt all that day, and on the morrow thereof ; and the third fair to begin on the feaſt or day of St. Silvins, and to continue all that whole day, and on the morrow of the ſame ; together with a court of pye-powder there to be holden, during the time of the ſaid fairs and markets, with all liberty and free cuſtoms of tollage, ſtallage, picage, fines, amerçiements, and all other profits, commodities, and emoluments whatſoever, to the ſaid markets, fairs, and court of pye-powder, belonging or appertaining, as in the ſaid burgh have heretofore been uſed : provided nevertheleſs, that the ſaid markets and fairs be not to the prejudice of any other markets or fairs. We have moreover granted, and by theſe preſents for ourſelves, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do grant to the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors, (as much as lies in us,) that no ſtranger, not being a burgeſs of the ſaid burgh, may ſell or expoſe to ſale, or cauſe to be ſold and expoſed to ſale, any merchandiſes, wares, or traffic, within the ſaid burgh, or the liberties and precincts thereof, otherwiſe than in the groſs, unleſs only in the times of the fairs there kept, under pain of forfeiting to the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors, all ſuch wares and merchandiſes ſo as aforeſaid againſt the form of theſe preſents to be ſold or expoſed to ſale, or the prices thereof ; and that it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, by their proper ſervants and officers, to levy and ſeize the ſaid wares and merchandiſes, or the prices of the ſame, ſo as aforeſaid happening to be forfeited, by virtue of theſe preſents, according to the laws and cuſtoms of our kingdom of England, and the ſame, ſo levied and ſeized, to have, enjoy, and retain, to their own proper uſe and behalf, forever, without any account to be rendered, paid, or made to us, our heirs or ſucceſſors, for the ſame : and theſe our letters patent, or inrolment thereof, ſhall be from time to time a ſufficient warrant and indemnity to the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the ſaid burgh, for the time being, and all and ſingular their officers and ſervants whatſoever in this behalf. And moreover, we will, and by theſe preſents for ourſelves, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do grant to the ſaid mayor, aldermen, and burgesſes of the burgh aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors, that from henceforth forever, there be and ſhall be within the ſaid burgh, two officers, who ſhall be and be called ſerjeants at mace, ſo as aforeſaid to be choſen and nominated, and being duly ſworn before the mayor and recorder of the ſaid burgh for the time being, to execute the ſaid office well and faithfully, ſhall and may perform and exerciſe the ſame. And further, we will and ordain, and by

these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that the serjeants at mace in the said burgh to be deputed, shall carry or bear gold or silver maces, graven and adorned with the arms of the princes and heirs apparent of the kingdom of England, before the mayor of the said burgh for the time being, in all places within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that they may have, hold, and enjoy, and may have power to have, hold, and enjoy, within the said burgh of *Evesham*, a view of frank pledge of all and singular the inhabitants and residents within the said burgh, and the limits, precincts, and jurisdictions thereof, and all things which belong, or may or ought to belong or appertain to a view of frank pledge, to be holden twice a year, viz. one within a month of Easter, and the other within a month of St. Michael, in every year, to be holden before the mayor and recorder of the said burgh, or their sufficient deputies for the time being, and to do all things whatsoever which belong to the view of the frank pledge, in the same, and as ample a manner and form as heretofore has been lawfully or by right used and accustomed within the said burgh. And further, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, we do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that not any of them, nor any of the inhabitants and residents within the said burgh, and the limits and precincts thereof, shall be made and assigned tax-gatherers, assessor, or collector of any customs, taxes, tolls, subsidies, tenths, fifteenths, or any other sums of money whatsoever, granted or to be granted, to us, our heirs or successors, unless only within the said burgh, and the limits and precincts thereof; willing also, and granting by these presents, to the mayor, aldermen, and burgeses aforesaid, that they, and all other the inhabitants and residents within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts of the same, or either of them, shall not by any means be taxed or assessed for such customs, taxes, tollage, subsidies, tenths, fifteenths, or other sums of money whatsoever, to us, our heirs or successors to be granted, by any other person or persons than the mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the said burgh. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgeses of the said burgh, or the major part of them, of whom the mayor of the said burgh for the time being we will shall be one, may and shall have full power and authority, from time to time, as often as to them shall seem necessary, reasonably to tax and assess all those who now or hereafter, at any time, shall be inhabitants, residents, and dwellers within the said burgh, and the limits and precincts thereof, in any sums of money by them to be paid and answered for, towards the needful and necessary charges, costs, and expences of the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof, and for all matters and things touching, or in anywise concerning the said burgh; and to levy and receive, from time to time, of and from all inhabitants and dwellers whatsoever within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof, all sums of money by them so as aforesaid to be taxed or assessed, to the use of the said burgh, according to the law and custom of our kingdom of England, and as in any other burgh, city, or town incorporate within this kingdom of England, has been used and accustomed: and these our letters patent, or copies thereof, shall be from time to time a sufficient warrant and indemnity to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses, in this behalf. And moreover, we, of our further special favour, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, desiring to provide for the safety, defence, and government of orphans and infants, which hereafter shall happen or be within the burgh of *Evesham* aforesaid, and that their goods and chattels, from henceforth forever, may from time to time, during the minority of such orphans and infants, be well, faithfully, and justly kept and preserved, for the use, profit, and advantage of the said orphans, during their nonage, for their greater profit and convenience: we will, and by these presents, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgeses of the said burgh for the time being, may and shall have, from henceforth forever, the custody and government of all orphans of burgeses whatsoever, within the said burgh, and the liberty and precincts thereof, and that they may and shall have power and authority to receive, levy, and collect, and keep and cause to be kept, in the chamber

chamber of the said burgh for the time being, by the chamberlain of the said burgh for the time being, all goods and chattels, debts and legacies whatsoever, within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof, being found of all orphans of any burghs or burghesses of the burgh aforesaid, hereafter happening to die, and the said goods and chattels, debts and legacies, to place out and employ to the best use, benefit, profit, and advantage of the said orphans; and that they shall be chargeable to the said orphans with the said goods and chattels, debts and legacies; and the same goods and chattels, debts and legacies, together with the increase and profit thereof, at such an age, and in the same manner and form, in all things, shall pay and deliver, or cause to be paid and delivered, to the said orphans, as in our city of London now is, or has been anciently used and accustomed; and that they may have all such actions and remedies for the withdrawing and taking away any orphan happening to be within the said burgh, and for the recovery of their goods and chattels, debts and legacies, and do all such and such like offices, for the better government and preservation of such orphans, and their goods and chattels, debts and legacies, as in the city of London have heretofore been and ought to be used; and that they may do and perform all and singular other things, touching such orphans, and their goods and chattels aforesaid, as heretofore hath been used to be done in the said city of London, and not otherwise, or in any other manner: all and singular which things we will, by these presents, shall be inviolably observed. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the mayor, aldermen, and burghesses of the said burgh, and their successors, that the mayor, aldermen, and capital burghesses of the said burgh for the time being, or the greater part of them, of whom the mayor for the time being we will shall be one, may and shall have full power and authority, from time to time, to chuse, nominate, assign, and constitute such and so many persons, inhabiting and residing as well without the said burgh, as within the said burgh, the limits and precincts thereof, to be burghesses of the said burgh, as to the said mayor, aldermen, and capital burghesses, or the greater part of them, shall seem most conducive to the public good and advantage of the said burgh, in the same manner and form, and under the same corporal oath, to be taken by every of the said burghesses so to be chosen and assigned, as the burghesses of the said burgh of *Evesham*, within the same, used formerly to take; and that such burghesses of the said burgh, and every of them, from henceforth forever, may fully and peaceably have, obtain, possess, and enjoy all the liberties, privileges, franchises, and immunities, heretofore by us, or by any of our predecessors, kings or queens of England, granted to the bailiffs, aldermen, and burghesses of the burgh of *Evesham*, by that or any other name or names whatsoever heretofore incorporated. And further, of our special grace, and certain knowledge and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burghesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, full power, authority and jurisdiction, that the mayor of the said burgh for the time being, may have power to exercise, within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof, from henceforth forever, punishments and corrections upon all and singular drunkards, and all harlots, whores, bawds, and all other wicked and incontinent persons whatsoever; and also all and singular those who dishonestly and maliciously, upon any occasion, converse together, or wickedly quarrel; and also all such as are called scolds, and other delinquents inhabiting or dwelling within the said burgh, or the liberties thereof, as well by verdict and presentment of twelve honest and lawful men of the said burgh for the time being, as by any other ways and means, which to the said mayor for the time being shall seem most expedient. And further, of our special favour, and out of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have granted, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do give and grant special licence, free leave, and lawful power and authority, to the said mayor, aldermen, and burghesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, to have, receive, and purchase, to them and their successor, forever, messuages, lands, tenements, meadows, feedings, pastures, woods, underwoods, rectories, tithes, rents, reversions, and other hereditaments whatsoever, within our kingdom of England, or elsewhere in our dominions, as well of us, our heirs and successors, as of any other person or persons whatsoever, which are not held of us, our heirs or successors, immediately, in capite, or by knight's service, so as such messuages, lands, tenements, meadows, feedings, pastures, woods, underwood, rectories, tithes, rents, reversions, services, and other hereditaments so by them to be had, taken,

or purchased, do not exceed in the whole the clear yearly value or sum of forty pounds, beyond all charges and reprises, (the statutes of lands and tenements in mortmain, or any other statute, act, ordinance, or provision before that time made, ordained, or provided, or any other act, cause, or matter whatsoever to the contrary thereof in anywise, notwithstanding.) Also we give, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to all and every our subject or subjects whatsoever, and of our heirs and successors, special license, lawful power and authority, that they, or any or either of them, may have power to give, grant, sell, bequeath, or alien, to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, messuages, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, woods, underwoods, rectories, tithes, rents, reversions, services, and other hereditaments whatsoever, which are not immediately held of us, our heirs or successors, in capite, or otherwise by knight's service, so as the said messuages, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, feedings, woods, underwoods, rectories, tithes, rents, reversions, services, and other hereditaments, so by virtue of these presents to be given, granted, bequeathed, or aliened to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, do not exceed in the whole clear yearly value the sum of forty pounds, beyond all charges and reprises, (the statutes of lands and tenements in mortmain, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, heretofore had, made, done, ordained, or provided to the contrary thereof in anywise, notwithstanding.) And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do give, grant, confirm, ratify, and approve to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, all and all manner of liberties, franchises, immunities, exemptions, privileges, discharges, jurisdictions, lands, tenements, wastes, commons, and hereditaments whatsoever, which the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses now have, hold, use, and enjoy, or which they or their predecessors, by what name or names soever, or by whatsoever incorporation or pretence of any incorporation, have heretofore had, used, and enjoyed, or ought to have, use, or enjoy, or any estate of inheritance, or by reason of, or under pretence of any charters or letters patent, by any of our predecessors or ancestors, kings or queens of England, by any means heretofore made, confirmed, or granted, or by any other lawful means, right, title, custom, use, or prescription whatsoever, heretofore lawfully used, had, or accustomed, although the same, or any of them, have formerly been refused, abused, or discontinued, and although the same, or any or either of them, are or have been forfeited or lost, to have, hold, and enjoy, to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors forever, yielding and paying therefore to us, our heirs and successors, yearly, such, so many, so great, and the same rents, services, sums of money, and demands whatsoever, as and which heretofore have been accustomed, or ought to be rendered and paid to us for the same: wherefore we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, firmly enjoining, do command that the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, may have, hold, enjoy, and may be capable fully and absolutely to have, hold, use, and enjoy forever, all liberties, free customs, privileges, authorities, jurisdictions, and discharges aforesaid, according to the tenor and effect of these our letters patent, without any let or hinderance whatsoever, of us, our heirs or successors; we being willing that the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the said burgh, and their successors, or any or either of them, may not be disturbed, molested, vexed, or grieved, by us or our heirs, or by our justices, sheriffs, escheators, or other our bailiffs or ministers, or of our heirs or successors whatsoever, by reason of the premises, or any of them: willing, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, commanding, as well our treasurers, chancellors, and barons of our exchequer, and of our heirs and successors, as our attorney and solicitor general for the time being, and every of them, and all other our officers, and ministers of our heirs and successors whatsoever, that neither they, nor any or either of them, shall prosecute or continue, or make or cause to be prosecuted and continued, any writ or summons of *quo warranto*, or any other writ or writs, or processes whatsoever, against the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, or any or either of them, for any causes, matters, things, offences, claims, or usurpations, by them or either of them due, claimed, attempted, used, had, or usurped before the day of the making of these presents: willing also, that the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the said burgh, or either of them, shall not be molested or disturbed by any of the justices, officers, or ministers aforesaid,

for

for or by reason of the use, claim, usurpation, or abuse of any liberties, franchises, or jurisdictions, before the day of the making of these letters patent, or be compelled to answer to the same, or either of them. And whereas the lady *Elizabeth*, late queen of England, by her letters patent under the great seal of England, bearing date at *Westminster*, the eighteenth day of February, in the ninth year of her reign, for the consideration therein mentioned did give and grant to her then beloved *Edward Hobby*, esq. son and heir of *Thomas Hobby*, knt. then deceased, the office of bailiff of the hundred and liberty of *Blakenhurst*, in her county of Worcester, thentofore parcel of the possession of the late monastery of *Evesham*, in the said county of Worcester, and all and singular amerciaments, escheats, estreats, profits of courts, view of frank pledge, and all other profits whatsoever, from time to time happening within the said hundred and liberty, and made, ordained, and constituted the said *Edward*, bailiff of the hundred and liberties aforesaid, by the same her letters patent, (except nevertheless, and always reserved out of the said grant, to the said late queen, her heirs and successors, all amerciaments, escheats, estreats, forfeitures, perquisites, and other profits within the town of *Evesham*, in the said county of Worcester,) to have, hold, perceive, exercise, and enjoy the said office, and all and singular the premises in the said letters patent expressed and specified, with the appurtenances, (except before excepted,) to the said *Edward Hobby*, as well by himself as his sufficient deputy or deputies, for the term of the life of the said *Edward Hobby*, as fully, freely, and clearly, and in as ample a manner and form, as the said *Thomas Hobby*, knt. deceased, heretofore had, held, exercised, and enjoyed the said office, and other the premises, or ought to have had, held, exercised, and enjoyed the same. And further, the said late queen, by the same her letters patent, did give and grant to the said *Edward Hobby*, for the exercise and performance of the said office, the wages and fee of forty shillings a year, of lawful money of England, to have, perceive, hold, and enjoy the said wages and fee, to the said *Edward Hobby*, for the term of his life, by the hands of the receiver of the said late queen, her heirs and successors, for the time being, out of the issues, rents, revenues, and profits of the said late queen, her heirs and successors, within the said county of Worcester, lately to the said late monastery belonging or appertaining, as by the said letters patent amongst other things more fully may appear. Know ye, that we of our further special favour, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, and also in consideration that the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, and their successors, after the death, surrender, or forfeiture of the said *Edward Hobby*, will acquit and exonerate us, our heirs and successors, from time to time, during the lives of *John Keighley*, son of the said *Philip Keighley*, knt. *Philip Harris*, the younger, son of the said *Philip Harris*, and *Theophilus Bayley*, son of the said *Lewis Bayley*, of and from the payment of the said wages and fee of forty shillings a year, for the exercise and performance of the said office of bailiff of the hundred and liberties aforesaid, so as aforesaid payable by us, our heirs and successors, have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, for and during the natural lives of the said *John Keighley*, *Philip Harris*, the younger, and *Theophilus Bayley*, and the longest liver of them, the office of bailiff of the hundred and liberty aforesaid, to have, hold, exercise, and enjoy the said office, and all and singular the premises before expressed and specified, with the appurtenances, to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the burgh aforesaid, for the time being, and their successors, as well by themselves, as their sufficient deputy or deputies, after the death, surrender, or forfeiture of the said *Edward Hobby*, for the term of the natural lives of the said *John Keighley*, *Philip Harris*, the younger, and *Theophilus Bayley*, and the life of the longest liver of them, as fully, freely, and clearly, and in as ample manner and form, as the said *Thomas Hobby*, knt. deceased, or the said *Edward Hobby*, or any other officer or officers, have heretofore had, exercised, used, or enjoyed, or ought to have held, used, or enjoyed the said office, and the rest of the premises. And whereas we, by our letters patent, under the seal of our court of Exchequer, bearing date at *Westminster*, the eighteenth day of June, in the second year of our reign over England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the thirty-seventh, did assign and constitute *George Hawkins*, gent. to the office of steward and keeper of courts leet and view of frank pledge, of all and singular our manors, lands, tenements, possessions, and hereditaments
whatsoever,

whatsoever, with all their liberties, members, and appurtenances, in our county of Worcester, heretofore belonging or appertaining to the late monastery of *Evesham*, and formerly parcel of the possessions thereof, we have made, ordained, and constituted the said *George Hawkins*, steward and keeper of the courts leet, liberties of frank pledge, of the lords of the manors, tenements, and the rest of the premises in our said letters patent specified, and to exercise, hold, execute, and perform all things in anywise touching or concerning the said office of steward, which of right by us or our officers ought and used to be holden, and kept of and in the said premises, (saving always to ourselves all amerçiements, fines, and other profits in the said courts leet, views of frank pledge, and premises, from time to time coming, growing, and arising, and to us due and belonging,) to have, enjoy, occupy, and exercise the said office, with all its appurtenances, to the said *George Hawkins*, as well by himself as by his sufficient deputy or deputies, during our pleasure. And further, whereas by the same our letters patent, we did assign and appoint to the said *George Hawkins* the wages or fee of forty shillings a year, of lawful money of England, for the exercise of his office, to be yearly received out of the issues, rents, farms, revenues, and profits of the said manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and the rest of the said premises, from time to time coming, growing, or arising, as well by his own hands, and by him to be retained, as by the hands of our receiver general in the said county, or the bailiffs of the said premises for the time being, at the feasts of St. Michael the archangel, and the annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, by equal portions, to be paid during our pleasure, together with all other wages, fees, allowances, liveries, diet, profits, commodities, advantages, authorities, liberties, places, and preheminencies whatsoever, to the said office of right due, used, accustomed, belonging, or appertaining, in as ample manner and form as the said *George Hawkins*, or any other person or persons heretofore having, exercising, or occupying the said office, ever had, perceived, or enjoyed, or ought to have, perceive, or enjoy, in or for the exercise or performance of the same, as by the said letters patent more fully may appear; which said good pleasure of ours we by these presents determine. Further, know ye that we, of our special favour, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, have assigned, named, and constituted, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do assign, name, and constitute the mayor of the said burgh of *Evesham* for the time being, for and during the natural lives of the said *John Keighley*, *Philip Harris*, the younger, and *Theophilus Bayley*, and the longest liver of them, to the office and offices of steward and keeper of the courts leet and views of frank pledge, of all and singular our manors, lands, tenements, possessions, and hereditaments whatsoever, with all their rights, members, liberties, and appurtenances whatsoever, in the said county of Worcester, heretofore belonging or appertaining to the late monastery of *Evesham*, in the said county, and being formerly parcel of the possessions thereof: and we do by these presents make, ordain, and constitute the mayor of the said burgh for the time being, for and during the natural lives of the said *John Keighley*, *Philip Harris*, the younger, and *Theophilus Bayley*, and the life of the longest liver of them, together with all other wages, fees, allowances, liveries, diet, profits, commodities, advantages, authorities, liberties, places, and preheminencies whatsoever, to the said office of right due, accustomed, belonging, or appertaining, in as ample a manner and form as the said *George Hawkins*, gent. or any other person or persons heretofore having, exercising, or occupying the said office, ever had, perceived, or enjoyed, or ought to have, perceive, or enjoy, for the exercise and performance of the offices of steward and keeper of the courts leet and view of frank pledge aforesaid. And further, for the better education of boys and youth within the said burgh, and
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the liberties and precincts thereof, forever, to be educated and instructed in good arts, learning, virtue, and literature, of our special favour, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have willed, granted, and ordained, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do will, grant, and ordain, that from henceforth forever, there be and shall be within the said burgh, and the liberties and precincts thereof, one grammar school, which shall be called the free grammar school of prince *Henry* in *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester; and we ordain, make, found, and establish it, by these presents, by the name of the free grammar school of prince *Henry* in *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester: and that the said school may be or consist of one master, and one under-master or usher, and scholars in the same, to be taught and instructed according to the ordinance and constitutions hereafter in these presents specified and declared. And that our said intention may have the better effect, and that the manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, revenues, hereditaments, goods and chattels, and other profits, granted, assigned, and appointed for the maintenance of the free grammar school aforesaid, may be the better managed, and for the continuance of the said school, we will, grant and ordain, that the mayor and the rest of the common council of the said burgh, and their successors, from henceforth forever, shall be called governors of the goods, possessions, and revenues of the free grammar school of prince *Henry* in *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester. And further, of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we will, ordain, and confirm, by these presents, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, that the said mayor of the said burgh of *Evesham*, for the time being, and the rest of the common council of the said burgh, from henceforth forever, may and shall be one body corporate and politic, of themselves, in reality, deed, and name, by the name of the governors of the goods, possessions, and revenues of the free grammar school of prince *Henry* in *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester: and we, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do incorporate, erect, create, ordain, make, and confirm them and their successors, into one body corporate and politic, really and absolutely, by these presents; and that by the said name of governors of the goods, possessions, and revenues of the free grammar school of prince *Henry* in *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester, they may perpetually, in all future times, be known, called, or named, and have a perpetual succession. And further, we will and ordain, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said governors and their successors, that they and their successors, from henceforth forever, may have a common seal for their business touching the free grammar school aforesaid, according to the tenor and true meaning of these our letters patent; and that it shall and may be lawful for them and their successors, from time to time, at their pleasure, the said seal to break, amend, and make anew, as to them shall seem best to be done: and that they and their successors, by the name of governors of the goods, possessions, and revenues of the free grammar school of prince *Henry* in *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester, be and shall be for ever, in all future times, fit able persons, and capable by law to have, purchase, receive, and possess, to themselves and their successors, goods and chattels, and also manors, messuages, lands, tenements, meadows, feedings, pastures, rents, reversions, services, rectories, tithes, and other possessions and hereditaments whatsoever, for the support and maintenance of the said grammar school, as well from us, our heirs and successors, as from any other person or persons whatsoever: and that the said governors and their successors, by the name of the governors of the goods, possessions, and revenues of the free grammar school of prince *Henry* in *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester, may plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended, answer and be answered, in all and singular causes, plaints, actions, suits, and demands whatsoever, of what kind, nature or species soever, in any places or courts whatsoever, of us, our heirs or successors, and before whatsoever judges or justices of us, our heirs and successors, or any of them, within our kingdom of England; and by the name aforesaid to do and perform all and singular other deeds and matters, as any other our liege subjects of our kingdom of England, being persons fit and capable by law to do, and may do in the said places and courts, and before the judges and justices aforesaid. And further, we will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do give and grant licence, power, and authority to the said governors and their successors, to chuse, nominate and appoint, and that they may chuse and appoint, one honest man, learned and fearing God, to be master of the free grammar school aforesaid, and one other

discreet and fit man to be under-master, or usher of the said school, which said master and under-master, so as aforesaid chosen, named, and appointed, shall be and continue, and each of them shall be and continue in the offices aforesaid, during the pleasure of the said governors and their successors for the time being; and that as often as it happens that any master or under-master of the free grammar school aforesaid, shall die or be removed from his office or place aforesaid, that then and so often it shall and may be lawful to and for the said governors and their successors, to elect, nominate, and prefer one other honest and learned man, fearing God, into the place of such master so dead or removed from his office or place aforesaid; and also one other honest and fit man into the place of such under-master so happening to die or be displaced; and that every master or under-master, so as aforesaid chosen, named, and preferred, shall be and continue in the office or place of master or usher of the said school, during the pleasure of the said governors of the goods, possessions, and revenues aforesaid, and their successors: and that they the said governors of the goods, possessions, and revenues of the said free grammar school of prince *Henry* in *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester, for the time being, and their successors, may and may have power to make fit and wholesome statutes and ordinances in writing, touching and concerning the nomination, punishment, government, expulsion, removal, and direction of the said free grammar school, the master and under-master of the same, and the scholars in the said school being, touching and concerning the ordering, government, leasing, placing, disposing, recovery, defence, and preservation of the manors, messuages, lands, tenements, possessions, hereditaments, goods and chattels, to be given, granted, or assigned for the maintenance of the free grammar school aforesaid, which said statutes and ordinances so to be made, we will and ordain, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do enjoin and command, shall from time to time be inviolably observed: provided nevertheless, that the said statutes and ordinances so as aforesaid to be made, or either of them, be not repugnant or contrary to the laws, statutes, rights, or customs of this our kingdom of England. And of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have further given and granted, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the said governors of the said goods, possessions, and revenues of the said free grammar school of prince *Henry* in *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester, and their successors, special licence, and free licence, power, and authority, to have, purchase, receive, and possess, to them and their successors forever, to the perpetual support and maintenance of the free grammar school aforesaid, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, pastures, feedings, woods, underwoods, rectories, rents, reversions, and services, and other hereditaments whatsoever, within our kingdom of England, or elsewhere in our dominions, as well of us, our heirs or successors, as of any other person or persons whatsoever, which are not held from us, our heirs or successors, immediately, in capite, or by knight's service, so as that the said manors, messuages, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, feedings, woods, underwoods, rectories, tithes, rents, reversions, services, and other hereditaments, in the whole, do not exceed the clear yearly value of forty pounds, beyond all charges and reprises, (the statutes of lands and tenements in mortmain, or any other statute, act, ordinance, or provision to the contrary thereof had, made, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in anywise, notwithstanding.) And also we give and grant, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, by these presents, to every of our subjects, and of our heirs and successors whatsoever, special licence, and free licence, power and authority, that they, or any or either of them, may give, grant, sell, bequeath, or alien, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, feedings, woods, underwoods, rectories, tithes, rents, reversions, services, and other hereditaments whatsoever, which are not held of us, our heirs or successors, immediately, in capite, or otherwise by knight's service, to the said governors of the goods, possessions, and revenues of the said free grammar school of prince *Henry* in *Evesham*, in the county of Worcester, and their successors, so that the said manors, messuages, lands, tenements, pastures, feedings, woods, underwoods, rectories, tithes, rents, reversions, services, and hereditaments, so as aforesaid to be given, granted, bequeathed, and assigned to the said governors and their successors, by virtue of these presents, do not exceed in the whole the clear yearly value of forty pounds, beyond all charges and reprisals, (the statutes of lands and tenements in mortmain, or any other statute, act, ordinance, or provision hertofore had, made, done, ordered, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in anywise

anywise notwithstanding.) And further, of our special favour, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have given, granted, and confirmed, and for ourselves, our heirs and successors, by these presents, do give, grant, and confirm to the said mayor and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, for and towards the maintenance of the master of the school aforesaid, for the time being, a certain annuity of ten pounds, by the year, heretofore by us, and divers of our predecessors and ancestors, allowed and paid to the master of the said school, as appears to us from several records and memorandums remaining in our court of exchequer, to have, receive, and perceive the said annuity to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, to the use aforesaid, by the hands of our receiver in our county of Worcester, at the feasts of the annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of St. Michael the archangel, by equal portions, to be paid yearly forever; and these our letters patent, or copies thereof, shall be from time to time, as well to the said receiver for the time being, as to all other our officers and ministers whatsoever, a sufficient warrant and discharge for the allowance and payment thereof, in this behalf. And we also will, and by these presents for ourselves, our heirs and successors, do grant to the mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that these our letters patent, and all and singular the things therein contained, shall stand, remain, and be firm, sufficient, and effectual in the law; and that all things in these presents expressed and specified shall, as well as to expression as intention, beneficially, favourably, and graciously be construed, expounded, and declared, to the advantage and benefit of the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, as towards us, our heirs and successors, any omission or default in the same, to the contrary thereof in anywise, notwithstanding. We also will, and by these presents, do grant to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, and their successors, that they may and shall have these letters patent, duly made and signed under our great seal of England, without fine or fee great or small, to us in our hanaper or elsewhere, to our use, by any means, to be rendered, paid, or done for the same: and that express mention of the true yearly value, or of any other value or certainty of the premises, or any part of them, or of any other gifts or grants, by us, or by any of our ancestors and progenitors, to the said mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the burgh aforesaid, heretofore made, may not be taken, (any statute, act, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restriction to the contrary thereof, heretofore had, made, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter, in anywise notwithstanding,) in witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourselves at *Westminster*, the third day of April, in the third year of our reign over England, France, and Ireland, and over Scotland the thirty-eighth.

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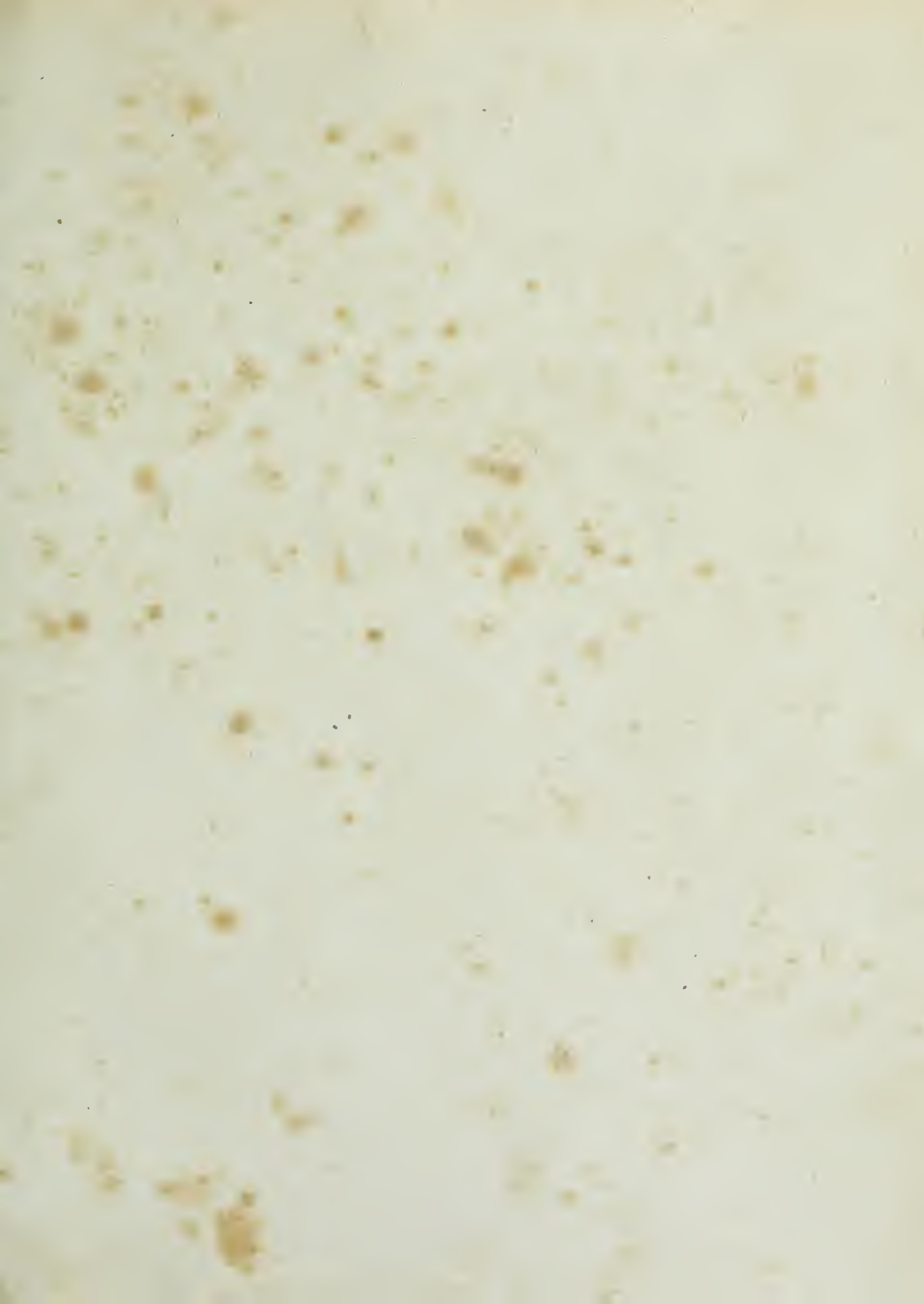
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